JPRS 75225

29 February 1980

Latin America Report

No. 2116

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements (issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

1. REPORT NO. FRS 75226

2.

3. Recipient's Accession No.

4. Title and Subtitle: LATIN AMERICA REPORT, No. 2116

5. Report Date: 29 February 1980

6.

7. Author(s)

8. Performing Organization Rept. No.

9. Performing Organization Name and Address:
Joint Publications Research Service
1000 North Glebe Road
Arlington, Virginia 22201

10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.

11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No.
(C)
(G)

12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address:
As above

13. Type of Report & Period Covered

14.

15. Supplementary Notes

16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words)

The serial report contains articles on political and sociological developments in major areas of Latin America, as reported primarily from Latin American newspapers and periodicals. It also includes information on major segments of Latin American economy, geography, culture, and ethnography.

17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors

Political Science
Sociology
Economics
Culture
Ethnology
Technological
Geography

X Inter-American Affairs
X Argentina
Barbados
Bolivia
X Brazil
X Chile
X Colombia
X Costa Rica
X Cuba
X Dominican Republic
Ecuador
X El Salvador
Guatemala
Guyana
Haiti
X Honduras
Jamaica
Mexico
Netherlands
Antilles
X Nicaragua
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Trinidad-Tobago
Uruguay
X Venezuela

b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms

c. COSATI Field/Group: 5D, 5G, 5K

18. Availability Statement:
Unlimited Availability
Sold by NTIS
Springfield, Virginia 22161

19. Security Class (This Report): UNCLASSIFIED

20. Security Class (This Page): UNCLASSIFIED

21. No. of Pages: 236

22. Price

ORIGINAL FORM 272 (4-77)
Formerly NTIS-35
Department of Commerce

JPRS 75226

29 February 1980

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

No. 2116

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Briefs

Peru Aids Nicaraguan Education 1
Argentine Loan to Chilean Bank 1

ARGENTINA

Search by Security Forces Uncovers Arms Caches
(Various sources, 23, 25 Jan 80) 2

Arms Found in Warehouses
Rosario, Santa Fe Weapons Cache

Martinez de Hoz Announces 1980 National Budget
(LA NACION, 27 Jan 80) 13

GDP To Rise Three to Five Percent in 1980
(LA NACION, 30 Jan 80) 20

Martinez de Hoz Explains Impact of VAT Extension
(LA NACION, 29 Jan 80) 22

Aguado Expresses Concern Over Taxes on Agricultural Sector
(LA NACION, 26 Jan 80) 24

'CONFIRMADO' Issues Report on Grain Embargo Issue
(CONFIRMADO, 24 Jan 80) 26

Ford Announces Future Investments of $100 Million
(LA PRENSA, 25 Jan 80) 34

'OBSERVER' Looks Into the CAVIC Scandal, Auto Sector
(LA PRENSA, 27 Jan 80) 36

CONTENTS (Continued) Page

Blanco Discusses Transfer of Water, Power to Provinces
(Aníbal Leopoldo Blanco Interview; CONVICCION, 29 Jan 80) ..... [illegible]

Mendoza Province Funds Hydroelectric Project
(LA PRENSA, 21 Jan 80) ..... [illegible]

Soviet Technology Termed Best Suited for Middle Parana Project
(CONFIRMADO, 24 Jan 80) ..... [illegible]

BRAZIL

Interview With Labor Minister Murilo Macedo
(Murilo Macedo Interview; O GLOBO, 3 Feb 80) ..... [illegible]

Interview With Planning Minister Delfim Netto
(Antonio Delfim Netto Interview; O GLOBO, 3 Feb 80) . [illegible]

Interview With Education Minister Eduardo Portella
(Eduardo Portella Interview; JORNAL DO BRASIL, 20 Jan 80) ..... [illegible]

Rise, Decline in Regional October Employment Rates Cited
(O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 4 Jan 80) ..... [illegible]

CHILE

Columnists Continue To Discuss Constitutional Issues
(LA TERCERA DE LA HORA, various dates) 75

Authoritarian Presidency Advocated,
by Pablo Rodriguez Grez
Liberty Must Have Purpose,
by Pablo Rodriguez Grez
Banning Communists Termed Essential,
by Juan de Dios Carmona

COLOMBIA

Colombia Enters the Uranium Age
(Maria Eugenia Martinez; EL SIGLO, 4, 6, 7 Jan 80) .. [illegible]

Plans for 1980's Outlined
Lack of Facilities, Personnel
IAN Plans Expansion

Briefs
Guerrillas Kill Policeman, Wound Another 90
Judge Releases Accused Guerrilla 90
'FARC' Kidnaping of Tovar Denied 90

CONTENTS (Continued)

COSTA RICA

Carrillo Discusses Production, Well-being
(LA NACION, 29 Jan 80) 91

CUBA

Reporters Charge Coverup, Fear, Widespread Spares System
(Marta Harnecker; [illegible], 25 Jan 80) 95

CDR Midnight Revolutionary Vigilance Watch Problems Aired
(Leonora; CDR LA GUARDIA EN ALTO, Jul-Aug 79) 122

CDR Zone Executive Secretariat Structure, Mission Explained
(CDR LA GUARDIA EN ALTO, Jul-Aug 79) 125

Castro's Nieces: Celia Sanchez' Death Attributed to Cancer
(LISTIN DIARIO, 28 Jan 80) 140

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Interior Minister Resigns To Seek Party Office
(Jose B. Baez Guerrero; EL CARIBE, 12 Jan 80) 141

Guzman Claim Not To Seek New Term Stirs Doubt
(Various Sources, 10, 12 Jan 80) 143

Never Sought Reelection, by Jose B. Baez Guerrero
PRD Leader Questions Statement, by Santiago Gomez

PCD, PSP Defend Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan
(EL NACIONAL, 10, 11 Jan 80) 146

PCD Document Summarized, by Manuel Perez Santana
PSP Follows Moscow Line

Briefs
Broken Job Promises 150

EL SALVADOR

Columnist Questions U.S. Ties to Christian Democrats
(Josefo; LA PRENSA GRAFICA, 19 Feb 80) 151

CP Official Says U.S. Supports Repression in Country
(L'HUMANITE, 14 Feb 80) 153

CONTENTS (Continued) Page

Paper Says Terrorism Comes From Cuba
(Acosefo; EL DIARIO DE HOY, 19 Feb 80) 155

FAPU Blames Oligarchy for Crisis
(EL DIARIO DE HOY, 20 Feb 80) 157

Coffee Growers Protest Nationalization of Industry
(TCRI, 20 Feb 80) 159

Briefs
Import, Export Measures Reported 160
UNO Condemns USAF Attack 160

HONDURAS

National Party Presents Government Program
(LA PRENSA, 1 Feb 80) 161

Paper Comments on Bowdler Visit
(LA PRENSA, 29 Jan 80) 186

NICARAGUA

Somocista Trials Could Last Two Years
(Managua Domestic Service, 16 Feb 80) 189

Alfonso Robelo Discusses Revolution Goals at CIS Meeting
(BARRICADA, 13 Dec 79) 191

Non-PSN Marxist-Leninist Groups Issue Joint Manifesto
(EL PUEBLO, 18 Jan 80) 193

CST Propagandists Define Roles of Criticism, Self-Criticism
(BARRICADA, 12 Dec 79) 198

Peruvian Solidarity With Sandinist Revolution Described
(Laura Masalenga-Litia Interview; BARRICADA, 14 Dec 79) 200

Cardenal's European Tour Termed Quick But Fruitful
(BARRICADA, 13 Dec 79) 202

Robelo Speech Urges Unity
(Alfonso Robelo; Managua Domestic Service, 21 Feb 80) 204

Results of Tax Regularization Law Extolled
(BARRICADA, 13 Feb 80) 205

CONTENTS (Continued) Page

Economic Plan Objective Seen as Fulfilling Commitment
(BARRICADA, 12 Dec 79) 208

Article Shows How To Improve Worker Effectiveness
(BARRICADA, 14 Dec 79) 212

Paper Issues Report on Atlantic Coast Situation
(BARRICADA, 19 Dec 79) 216

Known Reply to 'LA PRENSA' on Cosmetics Imports Policy
(Luisa Amanda Espinosa; BARRICADA, 12 Dec 79) 221

Summer School Vacation Replaced by Further Study, Activity
(BARRICADA, 16 Jan 80) 223

'Opportunism' Clarified for 'BARRICADA' Reader
(BARRICADA, 19 Dec 79) 225

Literacy Crusade Coordinator Explains Issues
(Managua Radio Sandino; 20 Feb 80) 227

Briefs

Opposition Attacking Three Fronts 229
Robelo Discusses Grain Imports 229
Joining Militia Urged 229
Bulgarian Medicines Purchased 230
Solidarity Group in U.S. 230
FSLN Delegate to Universities 230

VENEZUELA

Briefs

Illegal Immigrants Deported 231

BRIEFS

PERU AIDS NICARAGUAN EDUCATION--The Peruvian Government will help Nicaragua in creating a deputy minister's office of adult education. This office will be in charge of continuing the education of all the adults who learn to read and write during the literacy campaign. Peru will give its cooperation through the Nicaraguan Reconstruction Committee within the framework of the Latin American economic system. A Peruvian delegation will explain to Nicaragua the experience its country has had in this matter so that the type of Peruvian contribution can be established. [Text] [PA211309 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 1200 GMT 15 Feb 80 PA]

ARGENTINE LOAN TO CHILEAN BANK--Buenos Aires, 26 Jan (TELAM)--The Argentine National Bank, through its branch in Chicago, has decided to participate with $4 million in a $125 million loan to the Chilean Central Bank. The Wells Fargo Bank is acting as an agent in this operation. The loan will be repaid in 9 installments to be paid every 6 months beginning 48 months after 10 January 1980, the date the loan goes into effect. [Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0410 GMT 27 Jan 80 PY]

CSO: 1813

SEARCH OF SECURITY FORCES DISCOVERS ARMS CACHES

Arms Found in Warehouses

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 23 Jan 80 pp 1, 10

[Text] A large amount of arms, ammunition, explosives and extremist literature, belonging to the Montoneros organization of subversive criminals, were seized on several raids conducted in Buenos Aires and in the interior of the country by Armed Forces and security personnel.

In the Headquarters of the First Army Corps, the deputy commander of that battle unit, MGEN Juan Carlos Trimarco, who was accompanied by other senior military officers, gave specific details on the way in which it was possible to discover the storage areas where those items had been kept. He gave their addresses and, later, showed the newsmen -- local, from the interior and foreign -- a rival arsenal, consisting of large caliber weapons, most of which of foreign origin and of the most recent models.

General Trimarco's Report

General Trimarco assembled the newsmen in the Officers' Club and, when he began his account, he requested maximum prudence in what was to be published, because "the raids are still in progress and the material to be shown and that was found in the federal capital is connected with the material found in Rosario and other parts of the country."

He pointed out that the objective of the meeting was to make known to public opinion in general the activities performed by the legal forces in the case and also to make a few remarks in this connection.

He added that it all was carried out on the basis of collaboration afforded by the people and of the inspections made periodically by the Armed Forces and the security forces in their struggle against terrorism, for the purpose of guaranteeing the citizens' peace, security and freedom.

He also stressed the fact that the seized material to be shown to the newsmen is most modern and comes from abroad. It belonged undoubtedly to the Montoneros subversive organization.

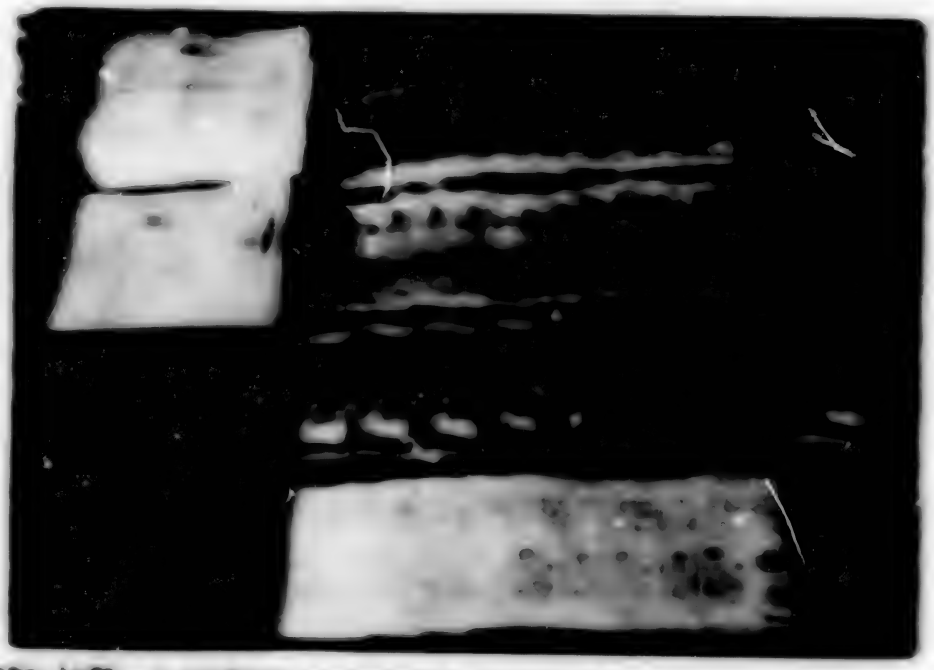
[redacted]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

In the photograph on the left, modern rifles, shotguns, a pistol and ammunition can be seen. In the one on the right, handgrenades and rocket-type grenades for the AFM-[illegible] rifle, and also a television channel in which a dummy grenades had been inserted.

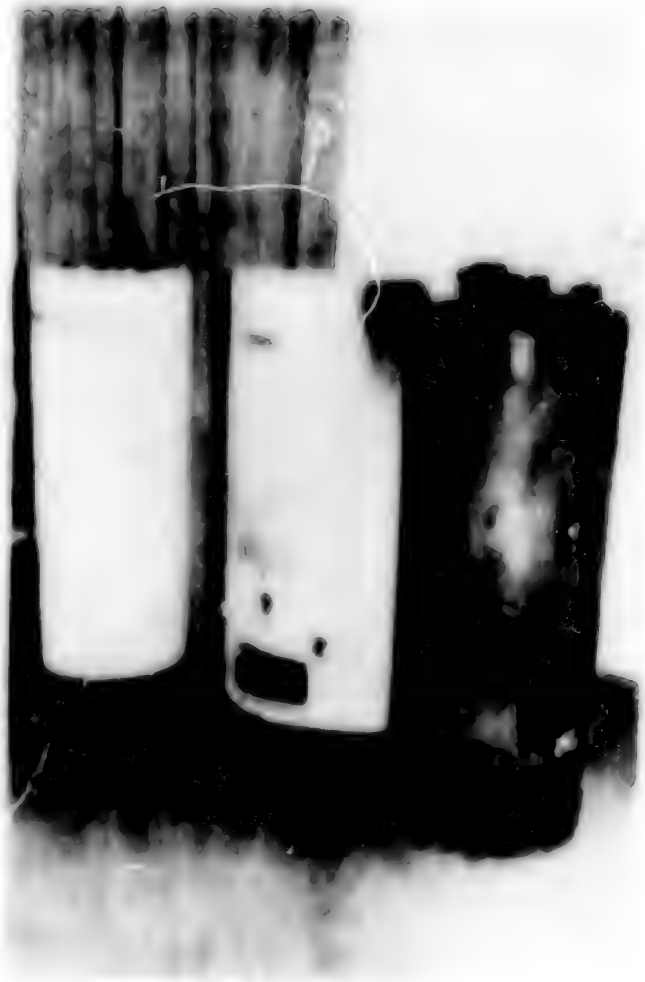
A modern RPG-7 antitank rocket launcher, of Soviet origin, with three projectiles, one inserted. Further back, machine pistols and two automatic rifles with bipods.

Components for assembling the grenade for the [illegible] rifle, manufactured by the Montecorvo.



On the left, a package containing instruction materials for the use of weapons, with the Montecorvo seal, and, on the right, various Marxist-Leninist indoctrination books.

The furniture warehouse at [illegible] Lincoln, where the fire that gave rise to the investigation occurred.



Taken [illegible] water [illegible] of the furniture warehouses, inside of which there were [illegible] prepared and [illegible]. The one of the right was [illegible] the fire at [illegible] Lincoln [illegible]

Rosario, Santa Fe Weapons Cache

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 25 Jan 80 [illegible]

[Text] The military authorities of the Second Army Corps, with headquarters in Rosario, informed newsmen, yesterday, concerning the discovery and seizure of material for manufacturing various kinds of armament belonging to the Montoneros gang of terrorist criminals.

Like what happened in Buenos Aires, as we reported in our issue of the day before yesterday, the materials seized were discovered concealed in cartons, furniture and electronic equipment that had been stored in furniture warehouses in the cities of Rosario and Santa Fe.

The investigation is continuing under the jurisdiction of that great battle unit to ascertain whether there are other items stored by the terrorists. The cooperation of all citizens is requested for this purpose.

A Communique

Rosario--In accordance with a call issued by the Second Army Corps Command, representatives of the local mass media and correspondents of newspapers established in Rosario assembled in that headquarters.

A communique was issued on that occasion. Its text states that "public opinion is informed that, as a result of inspections made periodically and constantly by personnel of this command for the purpose of guaranteeing the peace and security of the citizens, a series of operations were carried out in Rosario and Santa Fe leading to detection and verification of information received.

"This action made it possible to locate and seize a subversive arsenal of the Montoneros that had been left in storage in September 1978, before their flight abroad, with a view to using it subsequently when circumstances permitted."

The above-mentioned material, which was found in furniture warehouses, was concealed in cartons, furniture and electronic equipment. It consists of components for assembling and manufacturing various kinds of armament. Only three Eberos-type grenades were found in a state of immediate readiness for use.

"It should be pointed out that it was possible to ascertain that two cans labeled tar had been withdrawn from the items in storage some time ago (August 1979). Inside, they actually concealed highly explosive material (hexogen), used presumably in the federal capital.

"These facts should invite reflection by all of us who are engaged in the task of consolidating Argentina's future, because the disruptive individuals

who died are making an unsuccessful attempt from abroad to continue their criminal activities discrediting our country.

"The people are urged once more to continue to collaborate with the forces of law, passing on any information that may be useful in this connection, for the purpose of eradicating those criminals definitively, not only to work for their own security, but also for the good of the whole community."

Seized Material

Components belonging to handgrenades (crude-manufacture): 593 injected propylene holders; 605 forged sheet iron levers. Rifle grenade components: 655 tailpipes; 1,071 soft plastic spring guides; 10 black plastic tails; 289 wrapped; 237 aluminum tails and 221 hollow rubber plugs with wire hook and handgrenade parts.

Components belonging to the "fire stick" (grenade launcher): Sherga grenades; 35 covers for the "fire stick" firing mechanism; assorted sizes of pipes; one Rotamount mimeograph machine; one GEFTSA Master Fax photocopying machine; various parts for assembling armament and police and other law-enforcement agency uniforms.

Denial

Mar del Plata (NA)--A communique from the local military garrison denied that a terrorist cell had been discovered in this city and said that the discovery of a carton of explosives in an apartment house in the coastal area adjoining the Central Club, yesterday, is not connected with subversion.

The following is the text of the military communique, signed by the commanding officer of Mar del Plata Subzone 15, COL Jose Segundo Caride:

"In view of reports published by some newspapers according to which a subversive cell was said to have been discovered in Mar del Plata, the Military Subzone Command is obliged to inform the public that those reports are not true.

"On 22 January 1980, at approximately 1730 hours, the existence of a suspicious package in the vicinity of the Central Club was learned from the landlady's report.

"Consequently, police personnel went to the above-mentioned building. A wooden box containing a small amount of explosives and their components, like detonators and fuses, was found in it.

"These were the only items found.

"The above-mentioned material was taken from the place with proper precautions. It was demonstrated convincingly from the investigation conducted that the event is not connected with subversion.

"The investigation is continuing, in order to lead to the final determination of the responsible party."

MARTINEZ DE HOZ ANNOUNCES 1980 NATIONAL BUDGET

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 30 Jan 80 pp 1, 10, 12

[Text] At a press conference yesterday Economy Minister Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz unveiled the draft federal budget for 1980, which the Executive Branch is submitting to the Legislative Advisory Commission (CAL) for its consideration.

The budget calls for total outlays of 37.24 trillion pesos for the national administration; revenue is put at 33.45 trillion pesos, and therefore the deficit, which is now called the "need for financing," totals 3.78 trillion. This comes to three percent of the GDP, as compared to five percent in 1978 and four percent in 1979. The largest amount of expenditures is earmarked for economic development, followed by social welfare, defense, culture and education, the general administration, security, health care, science and technology and the public debt.

The Law

The major points of the draft budget are as follows:

Article 1. The total expenditures under the General Budget of the National Administration (central administration, special accounts and decentralized agencies) for fiscal year 1980 are set at 37,240,641,000,000 pesos, which are earmarked for the purposes detailed by function in Table 1 and analytically in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5, as appended to this article.

Purpose	Total (in millions of pesos)	Current Expenditures	Capital Expenditures
General administration	1,405,876	1,154,109	331,767
Defense	5,623,165	4,613,299	1,009,866
Security	2,343,178	2,098,973	244,205
Health	1,102,460	816,553	285,907

Culture and education	4,620,288	4,197,759	422,529
Economic development	11,329,867	8,316,812	3,011,055
Social welfare	7,044,098	4,546,665	2,497,433
Science and technology	1,093,158	777,783	315,375
Public debt	86,371	86,371	—
Subtotal	38,728,461	28,608,324	10,120,137
Savings to be made	1,480,000	1,000,000	480,000
Total	37,248,461	27,608,324	9,640,137

Revenue

Article 2. The revenue of the National Administration to cover the expenditures set forth in Article 1 is estimated at 33,459,261,000,000 pesos, to be distributed as shown below and as detailed in Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9 appended to this article.

Central administration revenue (current)	17,852,477 million
Special accounts revenue (10,151,565 current and 67,531 capital)	10,219,096
Revenue of decentralized agencies (5,389,263 current and 18,425 capital)	5,387,688
Total	33,459,261

Article 3. The 6,418,614,000,000 pesos in "estimated expenditures" included in Table 10 appended to this article are legal authorizations to charge outlays to their corresponding credits, in accordance with the origin of the contributions for special accounts and decentralized agencies. Thus, the financing from contributions is set at 6,418,614,000,000 pesos, in accordance with the breakdown in Table 11 appended to this article.

Deficit

Article 4. In light of the provisions of Articles 1, 2 and 3, the following provisional budget is established, the details of which are set forth in Tables 12, 13 and 14 appended to this article:

Expenditures	37,248,461,000,000
Revenue	33,459,261,000,000
	3,789,200,000,000

Financing Need

Article 5. The outlays to amortize debts are set at 7,019,984,000,000 pesos, and the outlays for advances to suppliers

and contractors of the National Administration are set at [illegible] pesos, in accordance with the breakdown in Table 15 appended to this article.

Article 6. The financing of the National Administration, excluding that established in Article 3 of this law, is estimated at [illegible] pesos, in accordance with the following breakdown and as spelled out in Tables 16, 17, 18 and 19 appended to this article.

Central administration financing	8,172,980 million
Special accounts financing	180,877
Decentralized agencies financing	2,111,411
Total	[illegible]

Article 7. Pursuant to the provisions of Articles 1 and 6 of this law, the net financing of the National Administration is estimated at 2,771,200,000,000 pesos, earmarked to partially satisfy the need for financing the provisional budget as estimated in Article 4 of this law, in accordance with the following summary and the breakdown given in Tables 20, 21, 22 and 23 appended to this article.

Central administration	(in millions of pesos)	2,040,086
Financing (Article 6)	8,172,980	
Expenditures (Article 5)	5,132,894	
Special accounts		540,607
Financing (Article 6)	180,877	
Expenditures (Article 5)	721,278	
Decentralized agencies		190,941
Financing (Article 6)	2,111,411	
Expenditures (Article 5)	1,300,470	
Total		2,771,200

The difference between the need for financing established in Article 4 of this law and the net financing estimated in this article will be compensated for by varying short-term assets and liabilities.

Article 8. The Executive Branch is hereby empowered to increase the expenditures provided for in Articles 1 and 3 of this law, to the extent that developments in incoming Central Administration revenue guarantee that they can be covered; this will, therefore, not entail a greater need for financing the provisional budget estimated in Article 4 of this law.

It is hereby established that the expenditures and revenues referred to in this article can be increased only once a year during the second half.

Modifications

Article 9. The Executive Branch can order the restructurings and modifications that it deems necessary, including changes in purpose, function, jurisdiction and clause, with regard to the total amount provided for in Article 1 and the estimated expenditures provided for in Article 3, as long as such restructurings and modifications do not alter the need for financing the provisional budget as estimated in Article 4. This authority also includes the potential increase in outlays referred to in Article 8 of this law.

The Executive Branch can delegate the authority referred to in this article to ministers, and the economy minister must participate in all cases.

Other Modifications

Moreover, the Executive Branch can modify the expenditures provided for in Articles 1, 2 and 3 in connection with the Defense Ministry, the Chief Command of the Army, the Chief Command of the Navy and the Chief Command of the Air Force. It can alter the need for financing the provisional budget estimated in Article 4 and the net financing estimated in Article 7 only to the extent that an increase or a reduction in one is offset by an increase or reduction in another.

The Executive Branch is also authorized to award financial assistance, under the terms that it establishes, to radio broadcasting concerns and television stations run or intervened by the state, assistance that will be charged to the credits authorized by this law, and to incorporate the budget credits to cover the outlays connected with the services that the state might transfer, to the extent and for the time that it takes to become effective.

FONAVI [National Housing Fund]

The law suspends contributions to FONAVI based on the 1980 pay of the personnel working in the National Administration, state enterprises and companies and two-nation concerns. The 1-year period referred to in Article 32 of the accounting law (for payment orders for fiscal years 1978 and before that are in the treasury) is in abeyance until 31 December of this year, even if the period should elapse prior to this law taking effect.

Nonetheless, the Economy Ministry can authorize the cancelation of the payment orders that because of their nature or terms must not necessarily remain in effect. The Executive Branch is also empowered to consolidate the floating and short-term debt of the National Treasury, to which end it can issue public debt bonds and perform the necessary credit transactions.

The total amount referred to in Article 10 of the industrial promotion law is set for 1980 at 1.1625 trillion pesos. This amount includes all of the projects approved as of 31 December 1979, which represent 1.13775 trillion pesos.

Mining

The total allocation for mining promotion projects is set at 15 billion pesos and for forestry credit at 102.78573 billion pesos. Of this latter amount, the National Forestry Institute will hand over certificates totaling a maximum of 61.6714 billion pesos in 1980. In addition, the treasury will take charge of the debts contracted with domestic and foreign financial institutions for the services, agencies and functions that are transferred to the provinces and to the municipality of Buenos Aires, and the Executive Branch can determine the exceptions when the financial status of the receiving agencies or jurisdictions so justifies.

The chief justice of the Supreme Court and the Official Auditing Department of the Nation are authorized to adjust the credits of their jurisdictional budgets as part of total authorized credit and without prompting automatic increases for future fiscal years nor in individual pay.

The public, private or joint enterprises and the semistate agencies with national, provincial or municipal jurisdiction that were authorized to undertake financial operations backed by the Secretariat of Finance and underwritten by the National Treasury, will pay for services with their own funds, and only in the event of temporarily insufficient funds can they be charged to the accounts of the General Treasury of the Nation. In conclusion, the deadline established in Law 21,550 for Siam Di-Tella Ltd, Fabrica de Revestimientos y Opalinas Hurlingham, Compania Azucarera Las Palmas, Textil Escalada and Industrias Llave S.A. is extended for 1 year.

Transfers by the Central Administration to the Provinces* (in billions of pesos)

Province	Fiscal Year 1979	Fiscal Year 1980	Difference Amount	Difference Percent
Catamarca	38.520	43.750	5.230	13.6
Corrientes	23.330	8.750	-14.580	-62.5
Chaco	16.700	26.250	9.550	57.2
Chubut	7.992	31.500	23.508	294.1
Entre Rios	28.630	--	-28.630	-100.0
Formosa	30.452	52.500	22.048	72.4
Jujuy	16.980	8.750	-8.230	-48.5

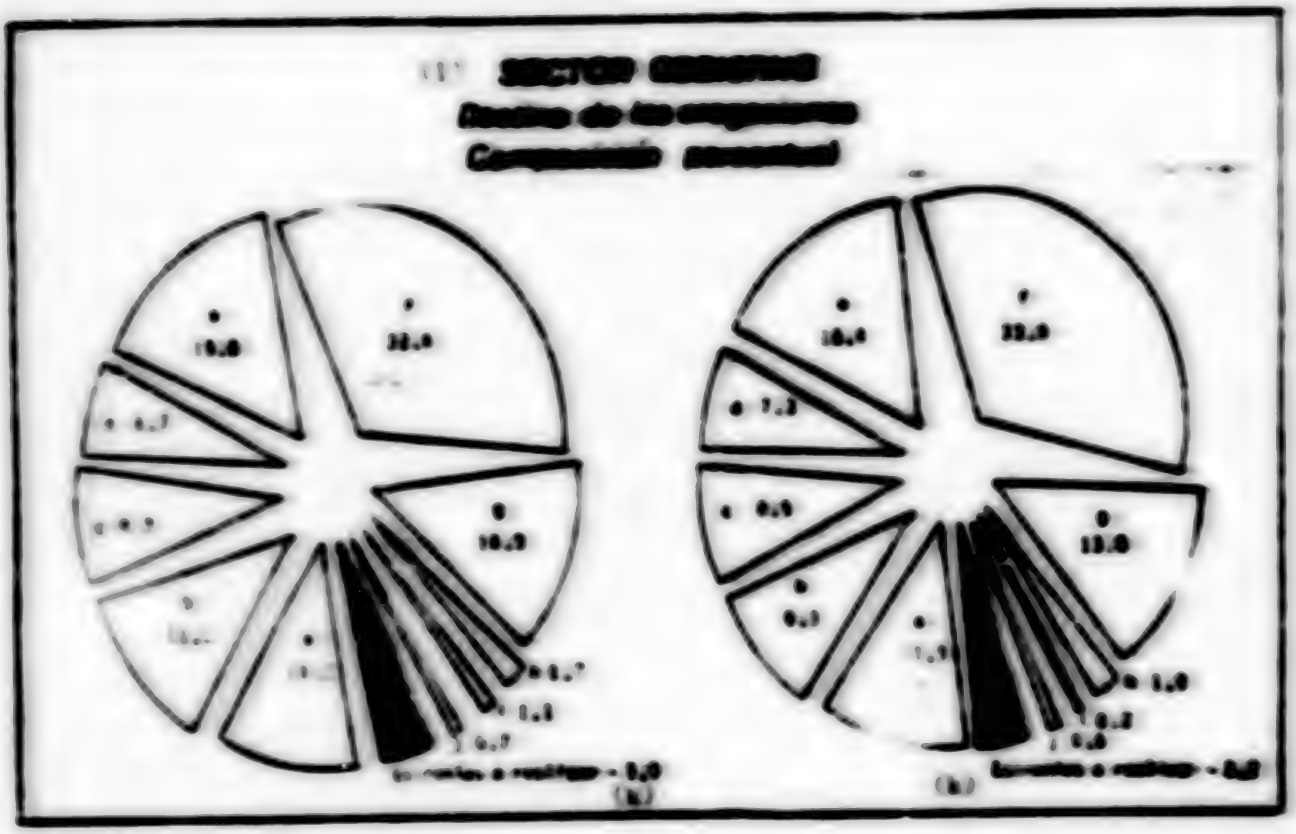
La Pampa	12.770	7.675	-4.095	-38.0
La Rioja	38.520	43.750	5.230	13.6
Misiones	24.98[illegible]	13.125	-11.835	-47.4
Neuquen	16.930	8.750	-8.180	-48.3
Rio Negro	18.200	17.500	-.700	-3.9
Salta	18.550	--	-18.550	-100.0
San Juan	47.772	36.750	-10.973	-23.0
San Luis	33.030	35.000	1.970	6.0
Santa Cruz	6.000	--	-6.000	-100.0
Santa Fe	.600	--	-.600	-100.0
Santiago del Estero	47.080	25.725	-21.335	-45.4
Tucuman	2.000	--	-2.000	-100.0
Totals	426.966	359.975	-66.991	-15.7

*Includes only estimates for Jurisdiction 91, obligations charged to the Treasury

Central Administration Transfers to and Financial Investment in Public Enterprises and Two-Nation Ventures* (in billions of pesos)

Category	Fiscal Year 1979	Fiscal Year 1980	Difference Amount	Difference Percent
Argentine Color Television, LS 82, Channel 7, S.A.	13.500	12.500	-1.000	-7.4
National Mail and Telegraph Enterprise	216.500	394.625	178.125	82.3
Argentine Shipping Lines Enterprise S.A.	36.943	113.029	76.086	206.0
Argentine Railways	728.121	955.734	227.613	31.3
Bahia Blanca Petrochemicals S.A.	5.500	9.625	4.125	75.0
Salto Grande Joint Technical Commission	6.640	10.624	3.984	60.0
Totals	1007.204	1496.137	488.933	48.5

*Includes only estimates for Jurisdiction 91; obligations charged to the Treasury



Key:

a. General administration
b. Defense
c. Security
d. Health
e. Culture and education
f. Economic development
g. Social welfare
h. Science and technology
i. Public debt
j. To be classified
k. Savings to be effected
l. Government sector: percentile breakdown of expenditures

Includes the National Administration, the provinces, the national territory and the municipality of Buenos Aires.

0743
CSO: 3010

[illegible]

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 30 Jan 80 p 10

[Text] In unveiling the draft federal budget yesterday, Economy Minister Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz stated that estimates of GDP growth for 1980 are three to five percent, but that this would depend on many factors, such as developments in the international situation. He declined to announce what inflation forecast for 1980 was used in drawing up the budget, pointing out, however, that in any case it is not far, when annualized, from the inflation rate that we currently have.

At the press conference that he gave to discuss the budget bill that the Executive Branch has sent to the Legislative Advisory Commission for its consideration, Dr Martinez de Hoz was accompanied by the secretary of finance, Dr Juan Alemann; the secretary of programming and economic coordination, Dr Guillermo W. Klein, and undersecretaries Dr Joaquin Llambias and Martin Brown Lacala.

The minister stressed the progress that has been made in the use of public funds owing to the allocation of expenditures in accordance with priorities set forth at national cabinet meetings and to 10-year investment programming with guaranteed financing.

He underscored 4 two characteristics of the planned budget: the subsidiary role of the state (owing to the overall and peripheral denationalization) and economic federalism (the transfer of services and the resulting funds to the provinces and to the municipality of Buenos Aires). He pointed out that this has financial consequences, inasmuch as the provinces will cover with tax revenue what the federal government would have covered with financing. Thus, there is a cut in the financing needs of the public sector (which used to be called a budget or treasury deficit). He stated that state enterprises would use 18 percent of the total credit on the domestic money market.

Investment: 6.6 Percent of the GDP

He then said that only now have we cut public investment to 6.6 percent of the GDP, inasmuch as the adjustment was gradual owing to the commitments that had to be carried out (it was 11.3 percent in 1978 and 9 percent in 1979). When questioned as to the potentially contractive effect that this cut could have on the economy, he rejected this and said that the level of public investment is still very high and that in it must be included the toll-financed projects, such as the center-west gas pipeline, which show that the investment level is not down in the country.

He emphasized that this year tax exemptions for state-run enterprises would run out and said that as far as tax pressures are concerned (which will represent 25.49 percent of the GDP), social security contributions (8.8 percent of the GDP) must be subtracted from the total because it is a transfer payment through the state, not a tax.

He asserted that this does not include the projected generalization of the value added tax (VAT). If this is approved, there will be a change in format, but not a substantial change in the tax burden, because some 30 taxes will simultaneously expire. The system would make for "better administration and less evasion." Dr Alemann noted that tax evasion is reportedly somewhat above 40 percent at present, as compared to 65 percent when the current government took over. With regard to the updating of taxes by some provinces, such as Buenos Aires, the minister pointed out that it was an "updating" due to 1979 inflation, not a 1980 inflation forecast.

He also said that in spite of the re-ordering, personnel outlays would be up from 1979 figures in constant pesos. He attributed this to a pay upgrading of 15 percent above the price index adjustment. He underscored the cut in public enterprise personnel, which amounted to 20 percent from 1975 to 1979, as well as the rationalization and re-outfitting that were accomplished.

With regard to public service rates, he said that the procedure that is being used now would be continued. He pointed out that businessmen must learn to operate in a free market economy in which they run risks and that it is one thing to establish certain parameters and another to have total security. He stated in conclusion that preparations would begin on the 1981 budget within 2 months.

6743
CSO: 3010

MARTINEZ DE HOZ EXPLAINS IMPACT OF VAT EXTENSION

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 29 Jan 80 p 10

[Text] A meeting was held in the Economy Ministry last night, presided over by ministry head Dr Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz, to analyze the proposed broadening of the taxable base of the value added tax (VAT). As we know, the economic leadership intends to carry out the move this year.

The plan eliminates more than 30 taxes and contributions to sector funds, which would include FONAVI [National Housing Fund]. These requirements would be taken care of through the budget, except for FONAVI, to which seven percent of total VAT revenues would be allocated.

Among the arguments that will be advanced when the proposal is submitted are that a general tax like the VAT avoids the distortions that are caused by miscellaneous taxes established for the sole purpose of collecting funds and that the tax system has an impact on relative prices.

Evasion

Another argument is that special funds prevent public revenue from being allocated with a comprehensive overview, and thus each is spent according to receipts, not real needs.

Also, it is claimed, an extension of the VAT will allow better control of tax evasion, because when some business pay the tax and other do not, control is more difficult.

Another reason for extending the VAT is that when there are exemptions, there will inevitably be situations in which one product is taxed and another is not, even though the two are competitive. This distorts relative prices, which influences the structure of demand and production in an often undesirable way.

When extended, the VAT will become a "neutral" tax in terms of its effects on the economy because it will eliminate distortions.

Agricultural Sector

With regard to the agricultural sector, the argument is that although the proper thing would have been to include producers directly under the VAT, in view of their numbers (about 400,000) and the administrative difficulties that inclusion would entail, the reform has been worked out so that the tax is collected in the stage subsequent to production.

On the other hand, certain farm producers who export large amounts of their total output will not be affected by the extension of the VAT.

Impact

With regard to the impact on the general price level that the extension of the VAT to foods (especially fresh foods) will have, the arguments are that it would be a one-time impact that would be compensed by the elimination of various taxes on transactions.

In this context, the point is made that the elimination of FUNAVI and the tax for the National Technical Education Council will more or less offset the impact on prices for those who work for others.

Also, the cut in social burdens that will take place under the reform will make these activities more competitive internationally in their use of the labor factor.

In conclusion, it is argued that the government must choose carefully when the provisions of the reform are to take effect, while bearing in mind the general guidelines of economic policy.

Taxes Eliminated

In addition to FUNAVI and the National Technical Education Council, the following taxes will reportedly be eliminated:

The tax on credits awarded to industrial concerns by financial institutions, the sugar tax; the wine surtax; the levy on sales of all varieties of meat, the levy on the sales of all kinds of livestock, the levy on cotton production; the variable tax on nuts, the tax on sports facilities admissions, social security contributions from Christmas bonuses, the tax on cattle for slaughter; the contribution to the mutual development fund; the tax on movie tickets; the tax on the Christmas bonus for the Labor Ministry; the tax on horse racing bets; the levy on patent medicines; the salary contributions for the construction union, the tax on insurance, the tax on farm production; the tax on insurance premiums, except for life insurance; the tax on commissions for bank social services; the contribution to the Special Insurance Fund; the coal surcharge, the contribution to the National Institute of Agricultural and Livestock Technology and to fishing development; contributions to the grain and meat boards and the obligatory insurance system for employers.

AGULAD EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER TAXES ON AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 28 Jan 80 p 2 Sec 3

[Text] Argentine Grains

Unquestionably the most important development in agriculture this week was the presence in the country of President Carter's special envoy Andrew Jackson Goodpaster, who spoke yesterday with President Videla and held meetings at various levels. As far as the farm sector, and the grain sector in particular, is concerned, he spoke with the secretary of agriculture and livestock, Jorge Zorreguieta; the president of the National Grain Board, David Lacroze, and the under-secretary of foreign trade, Juan Deane.

No information about what was discussed at these and other meetings was expected to come out, but a distinctly firm approach was discernible on the part of the Argentine Government. In other words, there would be no basic change with respect to the decision on the U.S. grain boycott against the Soviet Union. Our stand, as is widely known, is specifically spelled out in the communique from the Foreign Ministry on the 18th of this month and in the statements by the secretary of agriculture and livestock and by Mr Lacroze, which made it perfectly clear that Argentina would not endeavor to take advantage of the U.S.-declared embargo. That is to say, it would not go about selling its grain to make up for the shortfall that could be prompted by the cutoff in U.S. shipments to the USSR, but neither would it interfere in the normal workings of the local market; in other words, it would not curb the freedom of trade that characterizes it. If exporters buy grain and ship it to the Soviet Union, the Argentine Government will not be able to prevent this, because it does not control the destination of shipments.

U.S. concern over our position was expressed through State Department spokesman Hodding Carter, who said last Thursday, "We realized too late Argentina's importance in the world grain market." This statement is truly odd, because it implies either a prior underrating of our potential or a total ignorance of it; either of the two alternatives is difficult to accept.

Although official figures on potential 1980 grain exports have not yet been issued, on the 12th of this month we published an unofficial version that has so far not been denied. According to it, the country will have 16.3 million tons of grain to sell overseas this year. The breakdown is 3.5 million tons of soybeans, 9.4 million tons of corn, 2.6 million tons of sorghum and 1.8 million tons of wheat.

The leap forward that our country has made over the last 4 years must have doubtless been a factor in the confessed ignorance of U.S. officials; harvests have expanded from somewhat more than 28 million tons to over 39 million, with a parallel rise in exportable volumes.

There is, however, another point to be kept in mind in this issue of exports, namely that the register of overseas transactions is still closed, in other words, new sales cannot be entered. This was said to be due to the need to ward off potential export turmoil in light of a possible rise in corn purchases because of the cutoff in U.S. shipments to the USSR. The fact is, however, the reasons have not been given, and the measure has been extended longer than we would have thought.

Provincial Taxes Cause for Concern

In recent statements the president of Argentine Rural Confederations (CRA), Jorge Aguado, expressed his group's concern over the increases in provincial real estate taxes, which in cases such as the province of Buenos Aires hover around 140 percent. The feeling is that these measures are not compatible with the government's inflation forecast of 50 percent. Thus, the rural leader believes that even if such measures do not trigger a recession, by adversely affecting farm profitability they could lead to stagnation at a time when more than ever the country must boost its output owing to the conditions on international markets.

While still on the topic of taxes, we should point out that the Confederations have notified their members that now that the four percent emergency tax on farm output has expired, they do not have to accept its continued withholding, not even if it is caused as a precautionary step or because it is going to be reinstated, inasmuch as if it is, it cannot be made retroactive and will instead take effect as of the date of its reestablishment.

In this regard, Mr Aguado felt that as long as this levy is not reestablished, producers will in one way or another have higher income by the amount of the tax.

Therefore, the CRA is concerned about provincial, not federal taxes, and this suggests that it will try to get local governments to make their fiscal policies more compatible with the policy that the federal government is pursuing.

[illegible]

'CONFIDENCIAL' ISSUES REPORT ON GRAIN EMBARGO ISSUE

Buenos Aires CONFIDENCIAL in Spanish 24 Jan 80 pp 49-53

[Text] Argentina's firm refusal of the U.S. request to take part in the grain embargo against the Soviet Union has prompted varied reactions, both internationally and locally. CONFIDENCIAL has researched the issue in depth and prepared this special report, which contains a complete analysis of the international framework within which events are developing, a detailed study of economic relations between Moscow and Buenos Aires and the stand of the various political parties.

The angled political web of the U.S. grain embargo against the Soviet Union for its intervention in Afghanistan has many threads, but none of them lead to its core. It could be a web without a center, if such a thing exists. In any case, it is a risky move of very short duration, with fleeting political dividends both inside and outside the United States.

It is true that a presidential candidate must present a "tough" image (in Wild West or Humphrey Bogart style) to his potential voters, but many observers are wondering whether Jimmy Carter has gone too far.

According to a front-page article in THE WASHINGTON POST analyzing the positions of Argentina and Brazil towards the embargo, a subway rider asked: "After all, are these countries our friends or not?" The U.S. press muddled Argentina's position in particular, purely for electoral purposes, a position that was patently crazy. The corresponding denials were made, and all of this explains the query by the uninformed American citizen.

That Carter's decision has worked was shown by a recent poll in Iowa, where state Democratic leaders chose their presidential candidate last Monday. The president defeated his rival, Senator Edward Kennedy, by a two-to-one margin. Roselynn Carter, the architect of the campaign in Iowa, was proud. Questioned about the reaction of grain growers, she said smiling: "I would say that we have enthusiastic support." even though farmers had staged a demonstration with signs that read:

"Embargo Carter." But afterwards they all went and shook the president's hand, Rosalynn pointed out, adding: "I know how they feel. If there were a peanut embargo and I had a full warehouse, I would be nervous too."

What Rosalynn seems to be unaware of is that the farmers, who are a major electoral force, are much less interested in Carter's promise to buy the wheat that they cannot sell to the USSR than in having a good market, and they know that sooner or later the embargo will have an adverse effect on grain prices.

A Psychological Boom

At the same time, the return to the Cold War won more electoral points for Jimmy Carter. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "Wall Street now doubts that the recession predicted in 1979 will occur, due to the apparent return to the Cold War triggered by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan." Nevertheless, Franklin A. Lindsay, the president of Itek Corporation, a high technology firm with ties to defense, told the paper that it could be a year before the new military orders affect job levels. THE NEW YORK TIMES added that the main change would be psychological: "Whereas yesterday everyone was worried about the inertia of the economy and the bleak outlook for the 1980's, today people are animated over the apparent return to the Cold War, which financial circles are hailing as an 'economic elixir.' But these same circles hope that the Cold War does not turn into a heated conflict because in that case there would be no reason for all of their optimism."

Not Even a Cold War

DER SPIEGEL, a weekly magazine that customarily has good information channels in the circle surrounding the German chancellor (prime minister), claims that Helmut Schmidt's first reaction was to term Carter's reprisals "amateurish, superficial and ambiguous." In the opinion of German political circles (the Social Democrats sent two emissaries to the United States to sound out the political climate), the U.S. Government is divided between the imperatives of its foreign policy and Carter's reelection requirements. They are also convinced that the American president will not continue his hard line with Moscow because the United States is not interested either in breaking off all contacts with the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, although Schmidt assured Carter over the phone that the FRG would comply with the NATO resolution to modernize its nuclear arsenal, he let him know that disarmament talks with the Soviets, SALT II in particular, ought to continue. The German position is that a further worsening of relations with the USSR is not in the

interests of the West. Boom feels that, for example, a fresh crisis in Berlin would create a favorable climate in Europe for Moscow to invade Yugoslavia in the event that Marshal Tito should die.

Ultimately, rightly or wrongly, no country intends to alter its trade relations with the USSR, which in political terms is tantamount to telling Carter that they sympathize with his feelings, and that's it.

Argentina Says No

The Argentine Government's decision not to participate in the grain boycott against the Soviet Union (one of the pressure tactics that the United States is employing to get its rival on the world political chessboard to withdraw from Afghanistan) did not take farm producers by surprise. Both the growers individually and their unions knew how important trade with the socialist area had become in recent times, above and beyond the irony of this clash between systems and ideologies.

Thus, both the government and the private sector (the former with the certainty of equalizing the weight of the cards in the diplomatic tussle over human rights, and the latter guided by economic considerations) agreed that they should not take part in the embargo, though they made it clear that they would not thwart the U.S. move and would not make excuses for the presence of Soviet troops in that Middle Eastern country. Consideration was also given to the possibility, the first in many years, that Argentina would play a decisive role in formulating an independent policy in the face of a major conflict. This was the official purpose of sending a delegation to Washington led by David Lacroze, who took advantage of the backdrop and the audience to reveal Argentina's position.

Footlight and Behind the Scenes

Prior to the announcement, which came later from the presidency, that Argentina was not consenting to the embargo on grain exports to the Soviet Union, the secretary of agriculture and livestock, Jorge Zorreguieta, who had to interrupt his vacation in Bariloche, met with leaders of Argentine Rural Confederations (CRA) and CONINAGRO [Agricultural and Livestock Intercooperative Confederation]. It is thought that the idea that was put into practice some hours later emerged largely from this meeting.

On this occasion the growers imposed their views regarding the need to keep the wheat sales commitments for the current harvest (1 million tons) and they stressed the prospects that were opening up (given the vacuum that would be created on the Soviet market by the absence of its main suppliers) for grains in general. This year's output will

reportedly be around 12.5 million tons (3.5 million of soybeans, 6.66 million of corn and 2.6 million of sorghum).

After these possibilities were taken into consideration, plus the ones that had already been examined by the Foreign Ministry and the various state secretariats that have direct ties with foreign trade, the now well-known stand was taken.

Nonetheless, the intense days preceding the announcement were full of accounts about the clashing views inside the government. One of the accounts, which was later denied, speculated that the head of our economic leadership had raised objections to the refusal to join the embargo because he felt that the embargo "could cause distortions on the world grain market" and that its repercussions "could affect Argentine exports."

Business with the USSR

A quick analysis of trade with the USSR shows that Argentina has gradually boosted its shipments of both grains and other agricultural and industrial items. As far as grains are concerned, it is at present the second largest supplier of the Soviet Union. Trade in 1977 totaled $285 million, $267 million in exports, rising to $453 million in 1978.

Other good businesses have been sales of wool (shipments of more than $45 million in recent years), leather goods (averaging $20 million a year), vegetable oils (shipments of up to $35 million), and wines, grape juice and quebracho extract, exports of which have fluctuated depending on Soviet needs. In addition, steel tubing exports have remained on an even keel since 1973, accounting for foreign exchange income of around $3 million a year. Throughout the years of smooth trade with the Soviet Union, Argentina has always had the better of the trade balance.

Imports of Soviet goods, in turn, have consisted of machinery and equipment (such as the ones earmarked for Italo-Argentine), chemicals, cast iron, fuels, etc.

What Now

The United States, not content with removing a major volume of grain from the Soviet market, is apparently preparing to call another meeting to extend the trade embargo, attended this time by leading meat exporters. Argentina, which has a preponderant status in this sphere, after the United States and Oceania, has reportedly already prepared its position, which will be no different from its previous stand. Although there will supposedly be continuity here, in this

case, because of the complicated twists and turns that the meat market is subject to, the official decision will also take into account the views of livestock raisers and the institutions that are involved in the world meat trade.

In any case, the prospects for Argentina in the event of a meat embargo would be more favorable, to the extent that, as a number of officials pointed out, "the surpluses of the other exporting countries do not distort prices on the world market" and "sanctions that will hurt the country in the future" are not applied.

Nonetheless, meat exports to the Soviet Union have not been all that significant, which we can gather from the latest available figures: $19.5 million in exports in 1974; $23.5 million in 1975, and $9.2 million in 1976.

This situation is allegedly not making Argentine exporters back off. In private talks they expressed their desire to boost exports, "especially today, when the leading importing countries, such as the members of the EEC, persist in erecting the biggest obstacles."

Moreover, the Soviets have already shown an interest in Argentine meat for the coming years, and such interest will increase if the U.S. boycott is successful. We must take into account in this analysis that the United States has already anticipated that it would not invite Buenos Aires to take part in a possible meat embargo, inasmuch as all of its major producers have filled their export quotas.

The Limits of the Embargo

Above and beyond the political and psychological objectives that the embargo seeks to achieve, the people promoting it might have reflected on the probable success of an economic war in the current setting. Owing to the complexity of its economic system and certain historical trends, the Soviet Union, like other industrialized nations, is capable of offering resistance to a blockade. In addition, it has gold available with which to purchase goods, technology and oil, the critical resource of our time.

But basically, in a world in which the ramifications that economic trade and coordination have developed are countless and uncontrollable and in which there are varied replacement items, an economic war loses its effectiveness, at least between world powers. This same interrelationship weaves a complicated fabric of pressures. Even though Carter assured farmers that the embargo would not cause them problems, the farmers, who are aware of how sensitive prices are to developments such as this, prefer not to lose a market. Moreover,

European farmers are already alarmed over the distortions that grain surpluses could cause later on.

Moscow and Washington

Relations between Argentina and the United have perhaps reached their low point at present. A string of political and economic factors prompted by the U.S. call to boycott grain sales to the USSR came together during the first few weeks of 1980, and thus Washington and Buenos Aires unveiled to world public opinion their differing viewpoints regarding delicate and basic international issues.

In August of last year, the two governments were drawn into a political crisis over the issue of human rights and President Carter's particular approach to maritime sovereignty. When these developments took place, few people would have imagined that just 6 months later there would be another clash even more rancorous than the previous one, albeit over different issues.

In contrast, 1979 was the year of consolidated trade and cultural exchanges between the Soviet Union and Argentina. It is worthwhile recalling that in addition to the economic agreements (see page 49), a few months ago the Argentine capital was visited by Red Army Lt Gen Jacovich Braiko, whom then Commander-in-Chief of the Army Roberto Eduardo Viola decorated in an unprecedented act. But the matter did not stop there. A few weeks later, the current commander of the First Army Corps, Maj Gen Jose Montes, headed up a mission to Moscow to reciprocate the Soviet visit.

In addition, the Soviet Union is advising the Argentine Air Force in the manufacture and use of rockets to prevent the formation of hail, which inflicts so much damage on agriculture.

These facts are complemented by others that are perhaps less important politically but that cannot be ignored, such as the visits by Soviet ballets and various sports delegations. But unquestionably the most interesting fact for analysis is the Soviet attitude in international organizations, in which it has never voted against Buenos Aires's interests.

It All Began 60 Years Ago

Although current circumstances have caused analysts to emphasize the excellent Argentine-Soviet relations at present, everything goes back some 60 years. In fact, in the early 1920's Lenin himself authorized the first purchase of Argentine millet. The significant fact, however, is that in 1928 Argentine exports to the USSR totaled $90 million, a practically unheard-of amount for the time.

After a break in diplomatic relations in 1930, Gen Juan Domingo Peron reestablished them during his first term as president in 1946. From that time on, the political, trade and cultural dialog between the two nations had its ups and downs, but by the beginning of the decade a steady rapprochement was starting to take shape.

The landmarks were the policy of "an end to ideological borders" promoted by Lt Gen Alejandro Agustin Lanusse and the trade mission to the countries of Eastern Europe led by Peronist Economy Minister Jose Ber Gelbard. From 24 March 1976 on, the current government has observed the principle of trading with everyone, political differences aside.

Moreover, we must not forget that Argentina's ambassador in Moscow is San Juan bloc leader Leopoldo Bravo, who in the 1950's had held the post of secretary at that diplomatic seat. Bravo is thus one of the leading experts on Soviet politics (he was one of the few Western diplomats who met with Joseph Stalin).

Domestic Opinions

If we adhere to doctrinary premises, all of the main political parties back the decision by the Argentine authorities. As far as radicalism is concerned, national decision-making power in the development of natural resources, as well as major commercial decisions, is a basic element in their political proposals, and all of their platform documents show this.

The issue is dealt with similarly by "justicialismo," with the addition, the Peronists assert, of the controversial "third position." This stand, which Peron repeated over and over again, is, curiously enough, another geopolitical factor justifying, from the Peronist viewpoint, the decisions made by the government.

For their part, the development movement and the Christian Democrats, although from different angles, have in their platforms what they call the need to diversify external markets. The left-leaning parties (the various brands of socialism, the intransigence movement and the Communist Party itself) looked approvingly on the authorities' attitude, on the basis of their view that the country must take an independent approach to the major powers.

But domestic praise is not universal for our national authorities. A few hours after the anti-embargo decision was made, the anti-Marxist liberal sectors discharged all of their batteries at the measure. Most of them revealed signs of a certain political naivete, which ultimately furthers the Kremlin's expansionist plans.

Other Opinions

After pointing out that the government's decision "is normally in keeping with the traditional principles of Argentine foreign policy," former Economy Minister Antonio Cafiero told CRONISTA that domestic and foreign policy ought to be consistent. For this very reason, in his opinion, "it is not clear why at the same time that it made the decision not to implement economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, it asserted that in a free economy like Argentina's, the market alone determines the ultimate destination of exports." Cafiero asked whether "this means that the Argentine government, unlike the American, Australian or New Zealand governments, lacks the powers to control its foreign trade?" And he emphasized: "Is the sovereignty of the marketplace to prevail over the sovereignty of the nation?"

The former head of finances also recalled that Argentina pledged in Washington not to take advantage of the Western grain embargo against the USSR. So, "once more, how does this commitment square with a free marketplace?" In his view, "all of this does not help to enhance the country's international role, in spite of the fine communiques from the Foreign Ministry."

A Bucket of Cold Water

Argentina's stand undoubtedly gave President Carter's opponents grounds to unleash their criticisms of U.S. foreign policy. For example, New York's THE NEWS WORLD asserted that the decision by the Argentine Republic not to back the U.S. position on the grain embargo against the Soviet Union "has gone over like a bucket of cold water in Washington." The morning paper asserts further on that "unfamiliar with the Argentine nation's lofty tradition, the same circles had disclosed that Argentina's price for joining the embargo would perhaps be a more benevolent attitude on the part of the United States towards the human rights issue."

The paper then adds: "We know here that Argentina has more than enough motives and hard-won qualifications in the field of battle against Marxism-Leninism. Its total victory over communist terrorism, instead of earning the praise of the United States, prompted the wrath of President Carter and the group of demoralizers who surround him in his staff and in the State Department, as well as of a number of Senators like Mr Ted Kennedy."

What Is To Come

The immediate future will be shaped by a local strategy similar to the one that has been pursued so far. Although there could have been some shades of opinion, both Foreign Relations Minister Carlos Washington Pastor and Economy Minister Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz, in ongoing consultation with President Videla, carried forward a strategy which ultimately seeks to secure an independent posture between the two major powers.

[illegible]

[illegible] 9

FORD ANNOUNCES FUTURE INVESTMENTS OF $180 MILLION

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 25 Jan 80 pp 1, 6

[Text] The president of Ford Motor Company, Mr Philip Caldwell, announced yesterday that the firm would invest more than $180 million over the next 5 years in its facilities and products in Argentina.

The announcement was made at a press conference at the Economy Ministry after Caldwell had met with Economy Minister Dr Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz.

Caldwell also pointed out that the investments would assure Ford's continued leadership on the Argentine car and commercial vehicle market, of which it commands 35 percent.

He later stated that "our record sales of 80,000 cars and commercial vehicles in 1979 were so good that we recently approved $62 million in investments to boost our production capacity by 26 percent by the end of this year."

He also said that "Argentina plays a very important role in our international operations and contributed significantly to the record sales of about 2.14 million Ford vehicles outside North America last year. According to our figures, 1979 was the 15th straight year in which Ford outstripped all of its U.S. competitors in terms of sales outside North America. Those sales figures also assure Ford's leadership among all manufacturers in terms of car and commercial vehicle sales outside their domestic markets."

"We feel that car and commercial vehicle sales in Latin America, which currently total somewhat more than two million units a year, will at least triple by the year 2000. We are also confident that the gains that Ford is making will likewise make us leaders in the development and manufacture of much more efficient cars for the future."

Volkswagen

When asked whether Volkswagen's entry into the Argentine market constituted a problem for Ford, he pointed out that his firm had been given assurances that it would be subject to the same rules of the game as Volkswagen and thus its entry into the market did not represent any problem; on the contrary, they were pleased about it, inasmuch as the two companies compete in several countries around the world.

New Models

In answer to another question, the Ford president noted that the Taunus, a new model, was scheduled to be launched in Argentina by November or December of this year and that the company's line of commercial vehicles, which will be similar to the one recently introduced on the North American market, would be modified completely by 1981.

Research

Caldwell also pointed out that Ford is spending about $1 billion a year on research, the results of which are utilized by all of its worldwide subsidiaries.

Furthermore, he indicated that at present the top priority of the automotive industry is to achieve greater fuel economy for cars and commercial vehicles, which entails redesigning vehicles and engines to attain reasonable economy by the end of the decade.

He also pointed out that they have thought about introducing small cars but that the company is not yet prepared to do so.

He also pointed out that what had impressed him the most about Argentina was the change that has occurred over the last 3 years, especially in its economy, noting that it will be even more beneficial if it continues along the same lines.

[illegible]
CSD 1010

'OBSERVER' LOOKS INTO THE CAVIC SCANDAL, AUTO SECTOR

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 20 Jan 89 Sec [illegible] p 3

[Excerpts] Public opinion in the country, but above all, obviously, in the province of San Juan, was jolted last week by the critical state of the CAVIC [Wine Manufacturing and Sales Agricultural-Economic Corporation] "affairs" in the province, as a preventive custody warrant was issued for its former intervenor, retired Col Hector Dolfino. He was later released on the sizable bail of 1.6 billion pesos. In turn, the government attorney filed an appeal against his release. The charges being made against the former CAVIC intervenor also apply to the corporation's former production head, Mr Anacleto Tinto.

This matter has been dragging on for quite some time. Already last year an irregular situation in the CAVIC administrative workings (the corporation comprises about 10,000 grape growers in San Juan) gave rise to a string of serious proposals within the provincial government. Along with other problems relating to various sectors of the province's economy, it was on the verge of triggering a crisis, which was averted thanks to the personal intervention of Brigadier Graffigna, a member of the Military Junta.

The charges preferred against Colonel Dolfino involve enormous investments that were allegedly made irresponsibly. According to the magistrate who ordered his release, the defendant is being accused not of activities that are fraudulent or designed to secure his personal enrichment, but of negligence, which is why the right to release on bail was acceptable in his case. Bail was, of course, set so high that it constitutes a "prima facie" indication of the enormous interests that could be affected by the commercial code offenses of which the former CAVIC intervenor and the production chief are accused.

What is striking to this observer is that Colonel Dolfino, who as early as May of last year had to resign as intervenor (after which the corporation's board of directors was reorganized), has recently

been appointed technical adviser to the National Viticulture-Viniculture Institute in Mendoza, just about simultaneously with this episode. The proceedings against him apparently did not induce him to leave the post, and it was only 2 days after the preventive custody warrant was issued that the account began circulating that Duffau "had offered to resign" from the position in question.

Double Standard

Last week, the national director of price analysis, Dr Victorica y Urquiza, made mention of the motor vehicles that domestic industry produces and what they cost. He feels that the prices at which they are being offered to the public are too high, that they are not in keeping with the general price level of other manufactured goods and that their increase is not in line with our average inflation rate. The director let it be known that if Argentine manufacturers do not reassess their policy of increases, which exceed the above level, the government will permit the importation of more foreign-made cars. It would thus seem as if the authorities want to utilize competition from overseas to pressure the domestic industry into becoming more efficient and economical.

The laudable goal of assuring the public better and less expensive cars obviously does not extend, as far as government policy is concerned, to what it costs to acquire information, newspapers in other words. As we know, during the same week that we are commenting on, the economy minister again came out in defense of the reprehensible contract benefiting the newsprint enterprise, which places an unusually high tax on imports of newsprint paper, thus forcing the Argentine public to pay more for each copy bought and to read news badly printed on inferior quality paper.

An odd double standard is being applied. The automotive industry must lower its prices to adjust to those of foreign goods. Imported newsprint, on the other hand, is marked up to the higher level of domestic prices.

[illegible] DISCUSSES TRANSFER OF WATER, POWER TO PROVINCES

Buenos Aires CONVICCION in Spanish 29 Jan 88 p 16

[Interview with Eng Anibal Leopoldo [illegible], head of the Water and Power Enterprise; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] There has been talk for some time now about transferring Water and Power to the provinces. At what stage is this process, and what would be the changes in the enterprise in the wake of the shift?

[Answer] Although there has been talk for some time about transferring services to the provinces, it is just recently that the matter has begun to be broached in depth or seriously, as the event is about to take place. We have received very specific instructions that will force us to overhaul things.

To this end we have task forces busy thinking about what is going to go and what is going to remain as far as the enterprise is concerned. We are not going to have more ultimate customers, we are not going to have more distribution systems, we are not going to have more small, isolated generating systems. We are going to devote ourselves to major projects, to transmitting power and to operating the main distribution networks.

It is on this basis that we have to set up the enterprise. What is more, we have to set it up quickly, because if everything works out as planned, all of the transfers will take place this year.

[Question] What will be the economic and political cost of this transformation?

[Answer] We have to form another enterprise. I would say that it is a substantial change, especially in its dimensions, in the number of personnel.

In other words, the generation and transmission of power will be the major mission of this new Water and Power Enterprise (the power

generated by the plants and moved along the major transmission lines, which bring it not to individual customers but to a given point from which it can be redistributed). This transformation entails a two-thirds cut in the enterprise's current personnel.

[Question] Will this overhaul of the enterprise mean an alteration of the series of projects that are planned and anticipated?

[Answer] The projects that the enterprise has on tap are more or less the same, because what Water and Power is ultimately going to do is to decentralize part of its activities.

It has to continue the major generating projects to take care of the network, the ones involved with the network.

So that people can understand the change that is taking place in Water and Power, we will ultimately be concerned with running an interconnected high-tension system, with operating the powerplants that feed it and with the specialized engineering for the new projects that we have to keep undertaking. It's like a vicious circle: we have to keep feeding the system that, as it grows, indirectly feeds the distribution networks again.

Federalism and Putting on the Pants

[Question] What is the political significance of this decision to decentralize Water and Power and transfer services to the provinces?

[Answer] The transfer to the provinces of the electricity sector, of sanitation facilities, of schools and of hospitals is unquestionably in keeping with a political objective, and all of these steps are the result of that political objective.

After many years in which federalism has not had a way to express itself in Argentina (it has been impossible over the last 30 or 40 years), something different is now happening: the provinces will have to put on the pants and take charge of services that the federal government used to provide.

But in my opinion the objective is not only for them to handle the distribution of gas and electricity, but for them to say: Gentlemen, this province, by its actions and with its government, is going to attend to the service this way, and just look at how the one next door is doing it.

So I think that federalism can begin to become a reality, because if there is just one person who promises the toys for everybody, elections in Argentina will always have the same outcome.

I think that we are trying to balance all this out. If the people who did a good job belong to a certain political group, good, they will have local support. If they did a bad job, the people will probably reject them, because a comparison is possible. Until now, in reality, there was no possibility of a comparison.

When a political party wins the national elections here, it wins them in the provinces, in the municipalities, all over, because federalism is a fiction.

I would say that putting on the [illegible] a [illegible] process. It is not only an act; it must be taken up in the mind. I think that the provinces ought to be guided in this effort through a series of measures.

Getting back to the energy sector, in some provinces the systems that we are going to transfer to them have a negative gap between revenue and costs. In my judgment, they are going to have to be given gradual support until these markets grow and can sell at prices equal to their costs, owing to an economy of scale, at prices that reflect their actual costs. At the outset I do not think that this is going to be easy to do unless they are given support. It's like a father who gives his son the keys to the house but stays up to see what time he comes home.

The Middle Parana: Double the Power

[Question] The Middle Parana project is of such a scope that it deserves a separate paragraph. Could you forecast what it could mean to Argentina?

[Answer] The Middle Parana is a very attractive project. It is the largest hydroelectric development inside the country that we have yet evaluated. To give you an idea of its magnitude, when it goes on line, the Middle Parana is going to produce somewhat more than all of the energy that the country consumes today.

In other words, this project alone is going to double the country's energy consumption. Argentina has always had a shortfall in supply. In addition, this market has very unusual characteristics. If there were a balance between supply and demand, this market would inexorably double every 10 years, and this is an almost natural law.

However, when we fall behind demand, as in our country and other Latin American nations, the need to double comes sooner, every 7 or 8 years. If we had a balance in 1980, within 10 years we would have to double our installed capacity and in 2000 we would have to double it again.

Therefore, engineers and technicians are enthusiastic about the size of the project that we are discussing. In the first place, it is exclusively Argentine, which will enable decisions to be made here and here alone. International projects are very attractive, but the timing of a decision by one country does not always coincide with the timing of the decision by the other country involved in the venture.

In addition, it is what we call a multiple-purpose project. The Parana River is one of the world's major rivers, and it ought to be navigable, but it only is up to Rosario for ocean-going vessels. This project is going to guarantee navigation practically up to Corrientes (I maintain up to Asuncion), which means that ocean-going ships are going to be able to navigate the entire Parana River.

Another interesting facet to the project is the construction of a retaining wall on the right bank of the river between southern Chaco and as far as southern Santa Fe. The wall would render usable 900,000 hectares that are exposed today to periodic flooding and would pave the way for roads and railways.

The project also calls for the movement of fish, the formation of a lake that has fishing resources and holds attraction for tourists. In short, the Middle Parana is going to bring about a thorough transformation of the region, as a link between [illegible] and the northeastern part of the country.

8743
CSO 3010

MENDOZA PROVINCE FUNDS HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 Jan 80 p 6

[Text] Major Initiative in Mendoza

The government of Mendoza Province has decided to use its own funds to build the multipurpose Potrerillos dam (upstream from Cacheuta), which will bring extraordinary benefits to the province. As is the case with other similar nationwide initiatives, this venture was first mentioned early in this century. In 1909, an engineer named Fuch stressed the need to impound the river[illegible] the Uspallata area to regulate the Mendoza River, which is one of the most voluminous in the province. Owing to the lack of regulation of the waterway, whose flow averages some 45 cubic meters a second in summer and 14 in winter, 35 percent of it runs off, and this could increase the surface area under cultivation by some 30,000 hectares.

Some 10 projects have been undertaken to harness Potrerillos since the study by engineer Fuch, and last April the Mendoza provincial government hired consultants to study, update and determine the profitability of the venture. This team of experts issued their judgment late last September, underscoring the feasibility of the multipurpose projects (power, irrigation, flow regulation and tourism). As a result, the Mendoza Government decided to undertake the effort, which will cost the equivalent of some $670 million, including $90 million for the construction of the railway. The dam will cost $230 million, and the 4 projected turbines, $25 million.

The complex will take 6 years to build, and the feeling is that the call for bids could come within 5 months. It was reported from Mendoza that of the total investment some $120 million in foreign exchange would be used; the venture is regarded as an effort commensurate with its extraordinary benefits, in that it will boost the province's production potential.

6741
CSO: 3010

SOVIET TECHNOLOGY TERMED BEST SUITED FOR MIDDLE PARANA PROJECT

Buenos Aires CRONISTA in Spanish 24 Jan 80 p 9

[Text] Its high cost and unavoidable Soviet aid, among other reasons, prevent the project from being an immediate option.

The Indian words "Parana-Guasu" translate as "father of the waters," an accurate description if we bear in mind that its waters cut through almost 4,000 kilometers and irrigate a basin of somewhat more than 2.6 million square kilometers. It is unquestionably one of the planet's river giants. When the authorities of Water and Electric Power contracted the Soviet firm V.O. Technopromexport to undertake the Middle Parana project, they did so persuaded that they would be availing themselves of Russian experience in developing the hydroelectric potential of the Volga River and making it navigable, as well as in the construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt. Soviet engineering seems the best suited for the characteristics of the Middle Parana: its heavy flow and low waterfall.

In light of a number of unilateral measures by the Brazilian Foreign Ministry with regard to Itaipu, the project becomes enormously important geopolitically in that it is also linked to other ventures aimed at deepening Brazil's presences, on the one hand, and, on the other, at spurring domestic energy development with Yacireta and Corpus and the harnessing of the Bermejo and Iguazu rivers. These latter undertakings will give Bolivia an outlet to the sea and, therefore, our already good relations with the country will improve.

As this edition went to press, the legislative seat of Entre Rios Province was the scene of talks on the issue among the under-secretary of energy, Bernardo Grunstein; the governor of Santa Fe, Vice Adm Jorge Desimone; the governor of Entre Rios, Brig Gen Carlos Aguirre; the governor of Chaco, Gen Antonio Serrano, and the governor of Corrientes, Gen Luis Gomez Centurion. These are the provinces that will feel the immediate effects of the startup of the projects. If the venture is undertaken, plans are to build the two dikes, their natural dams, the respective reservoirs and two waterfalls of about 14.5 meters. The project will generate 34,300 kilowatts of power a year at a cost of 80 billion.

8743
CSO: 3010

INTERVIEW WITH LABOR MINISTER MURILO MACEDO

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 3 Feb 80 p 6

["Exclusive" interview with Labor Minister Murilo Macedo: "Macedo Supports Worker's Access to Management"; date, place and name of interviewer not given]

[Text] In expressing opposition to compulsory and equal co-management, Labor Minister Murilo Macedo advocated as an alternative encouragement by companies of the worker's advancement to a management position. In support of this idea, he cited his own case--"as a bank clerk, I started at the bottom of the ladder and rose to the ranks of management"--to then conclude that "participation in management is something that must be encouraged."

Macedo said he agrees with Planning Minister Delfim Netto that it is more important to create employment than to increase wages, asserting that, just to maintain the current employment situation, Brazil must create 1.3 million new jobs each year. He also stressed manpower training, especially in rural areas, as a way to improve the Brazilian worker's occupational skills and also combat rural-urban migration.

O GLOBO: What do you expect of the major confrontations at the beginning of this year and the strikes that, were it not for the new wage policy, would result from these disagreements?

Macedo: I do not expect a repetition this year of those episodes involving strikes that we had last year. The wage policy, to the extent that it grants monetary correction to workers, reduces somewhat the level of dispute and, rather than justify a wave of strikes, it encourages discussion. I think this wage policy has opened up a new course for the debate between labor unions and employers' organizations. From now on we should discuss wages less and other aspects of employer-employee relations much more. This is what I had hoped and what I hoped would happen is happening.

so I expect we are going to have a discussion directed much more towards specific matters such as working conditions, insurance, safety and so on.

We are also seeing a more pronounced interest by the so-called union representative in the wage floor. I don't believe we have the climate today for strikes. Today we are solving problems much more on the basis of discussion because, as a matter of fact, all these problems are somewhat easier to deal with. It looks like the problem of the union representative will take on various shapes, because they have not yet submitted to us the so-called profile of the union representative. You begin to imagine that this union representative can maybe lead to an unknown process. We all have a fear of the unknown and it appears that, for us, the unknown could become, for example, co-management.

O GLOBO: In view of the suggestion made by the government party itself, do you think the union representative could be the springboard for co-management to be transformed from an academic proposal by the PDS [Social Democratic Party] into a specific demand by the labor unions?

Macedo: Note well, the union representative has been a specific demand since last year. What happened was that last year the union-representative proposal was accompanied by the wage-increase proposal, which, of course, involved inflation and productivity. Today the worker receives a correction for inflation automatically, especially the worker with the lowest wages, who receives 110 percent of the increase and, if you figure it out, he will receive all that because it is cumulative and on top of inflation. Last year we came to the conclusion that this union-representative proposal was a specific proposal but was not the primary objective. This year it goes on to a higher level of interest for the unions. So I imagine that this year we shall have the proposal directed much more toward this matter of the union representative; everything points in that direction.

O GLOBO: Do you think this is a first step toward collective bargaining, which, in practice, we have never had in Brazil?

Macedo: Yes, it is a step in that direction. We are seeing a growing attempt to contain the labor contract within the collective-bargaining process. That seems to be the case; there are attempts in that direction.

O GLOBO: You have already mentioned the second matter, co-management, which is something directly connected with your ministry. Weren't you consulted by the party about its platform?

Macedo: Often there is no need for direct consultation because the government believes in the idea of greater unity. We cabinet ministers are always discussing things together. So there is no need for consultation when all those who prepared the party platform already know my point of view. I have always tried to guide my behavior according to the thinking of the government itself.

O GLOBO: Do you think that, upon the terms in which the question was expressed by the PMDB manifesto, it is well stated? Does the fact of having agreement between the parties change the meaning of co-management?

Macedo: I have expressed myself for a long time, not just now, against compulsory co-management. That is not exactly what the party platform contemplates. I have said several times that much more stimulus to advancement is needed.

O GLOBO: And this productivity formula was a way the government found, a way you found, to stimulate the workers?

Macedo: Productivity was already contained within the previous process of wage adjustment. But in the previous process, before direct negotiations, when the increase to be granted was established, when the government arrived at the increase, productivity was already embodied in that rate. But since the indices that made up the total percentage were not discussed, productivity was also not discussed. As soon as we detached productivity from monetary correction, productivity was then given much greater attention. What is needed now is to become better acquainted with productivity and establish a more appropriate way of finding productivity. I believe that productivity will to some extent enhance the work of the employee and will be a stimulus to the company to also improve its own productivity. Clearly, the nation can only benefit from this. I believe productivity has special and favorable aspects. When someone says that it is difficult to calculate productivity, I certainly can't disagree, because productivity has not yet been given the attention it deserves in Brazil. From now on, when everyone knows he can make more money by increasing productivity, this will then give productivity such value that the worker will benefit and so will the businessman.

O GLOBO: Do you, in principle, think that the Brazilian labor movement today is ready for co-management?

Macedo: If I were not opposed to co-management philosophically, I would be opposed to it as untimely. If you were to observe co-management in the world, you would see that where it has reached the most advanced stage is in Germany and, even in Germany, it has not yet reached significant levels. It has limitations and it affects companies with more than 2,000 employees, and even in these it has not reached parity between workers and managers. In reality, co-management in Germany affects mainly workers in coal and steel companies. At a time such as this, when we see in Germany the attempt of capital to become established elsewhere, escaping this process of more pronounced participation in company management, I think--and this is one of the important factors--that co-management in Brazil would be untimely.

What the PDS is doing, what the PDS is suggesting, is something that avoids this type of co-management completely. As a matter of fact, the constitution establishes regulated exceptionality by law.

O GLOBO: Actually, the PDS manifesto speaks of participation in profits and in management. What distinction do you make between such participation and co-management?

Macedo: Participation in profits, profit-sharing, we already have. As for participation in management, I say I am in favor of incentives for the advancement of employees to the management level. I should and I often do say that I myself am an example of this. As a bank clerk, I started at the bottom of the ladder and I eventually reached the management level. I thus participated in company management, encouraged by the company itself, which sought to train managers, and this seems to me to be a really desirable solution for the employee's development. I believe participation in management is something that must be encouraged. Co-management, to me, frankly, gives a sense of something compulsory, of something you share equally.

O GLOBO: In his book "The New Industrial State," Professor Galbraith raises the notion that in the modern business firm ownership has been separated from management and that it is not the owners who control management but rather what he calls the technostructure, which is to say the business bureaucracy, or what we in Brazil call technocracy, the executives. Does the participation in management that the PDS proposes have anything to do with this?

Macedo: I think the PDS unquestionably opened a more meaningful perspective for participation by the employee in management. It is something really advanced, but it is something that we can make perfectly compatible with this advanced view of administration. I think there is a very big difference between this and compulsory co-management. As a matter of fact, I think everyone is talking more or less the same language, and the question is one of the focus that can be given the thing. Notice that several public figures have expressed themselves in this regard and all of them, to some extent, have taken a position against compulsory and equal co-management. But, as soon as you encourage participation in management, it seems to me that you are giving an advance, a more significant worth, to the employee who really has the qualifications and the will to overcome, to leave that lower level of administration behind and reach a higher level.

O GLOBO: You are in constant touch with labor unions and employer organizations. What reactions have you received so far about this proposal by your party?

Macedo: To some extent, the reactions have already appeared in the press. The employers oppose compulsory co-management and I sense they all realize that compulsory co-management is not exactly what is contained in my party's platform. But there is very great merit, I believe, in opening this discussion, because to some extent it gave the worker more significance; it showed the worker that he can, through his own efforts and his own capabilities, advance even to participate in company management. And this is what I think should be encouraged.

O GLOBO: Do you think there is beginning to be some confusion between participation in management, co-management and self-management?

Macedo: Frankly, it is all mixed up. Self-management is what is practiced in some socialist countries and, of course, cannot be confused with co-management.

Nor can co-management be confused with encouraging participation by the worker in company management, which is something recognized by the employer himself.

O GLOBO: Could it actually be that Brazilian employers think the PDS wants self-management, which they would consider something equivalent to socializing their respective companies?

Macedo: I have the impression that this fear, which arose before the thing was thoroughly discussed, has no reason for being. To the extent that you discuss the subject and explain it, this fear can be completely overcome. If our constitution itself speaks about the exceptionality and not about compulsion and the platform does not talk about co-management but speaks, above all, about participation in management, I believe that there really is some confusion.

O GLOBO: Coming as you do from a bank, do you have any trouble in dealing with all these social problems; that is, constantly daily with this type of question: social demands, social position, creation--let us say--of social capital?

Macedo: I don't have any trouble, perhaps precisely because of my background. I was never a man of capital. I was always an employee and, as an employee, I had, throughout my life, the experiences of one who started at the bottom and advanced by his own efforts. So I know what the life of a worker is really like, the life of a worker who frequently doesn't make enough money, the life of the employee who makes a better living, I know the significance of each person's desires. I feel very comfortable because, having to some extent sat on both sides of the table, I can understand both sides well and, understanding both sides well, I believe I can deal very well with the capital-labor controversy. And it is partly for this reason that I advocate the policy of dialog, because I find that dialog gives every opportunity for finding the common denominator. So this does not create a problem for me. Far from that. I left the financial field and entered what we may call the social field with relative ease. At a time when you are in a process of combating inflation, you know perfectly well that a certain type of raise is an illusory raise. Giving more, you often are giving with one hand and taking it away with the other, due to inflation. Hence you have a much more solid argument to use in discussion. I don't have to--let us say--learn the lesson in order to later teach the lesson.

Q [illegible] Planning Minister Delfim Netto asserted recently that it is more important to create jobs than to give wage increases. How do you view the employment situation in Brazil?

Macedo: The last time I spoke about this matter in depth was in a talk I gave at the War College. I said, with all emphasis, that the employment situation in Brazil was not the best. On that occasion I told them exactly what was the economically active population in Brazil and how much that population earned. We must think in terms of what we might call a real employment policy, a policy in which, besides looking at investment from the businessman's side, which is profit, we should also look at what it represents for the worker. We must take employment into consideration as something that elevates the worker.

I find--and this is a problem I am facing--that our country lacks data. When speaking about employment, for example, I can ask: Is there unemployment? How much unemployment is there? I don't have data. A few months ago I made the suggestion to President Figueiredo and later also to Planning Minister Delfim Netto, and we then requested unemployment statistics from IBGE [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics]. According to the information I have, those statistics will be available beginning in June. What we have had until now is little more than data referring to the level of employment opportunities. But we cannot deduce what unemployment might be from data on the level of employment offered. In fact, at the time I made that talk, the nation already needed 1.3 million new jobs a year, taking into consideration the growth rate of population, which is figured to be 2.7 percent a year. Those 1.3 million jobs, based upon a population growth rate of 2.7 percent, indicate a PIB [Gross Domestic Product] increase of 6.3 percent. So if we were to add 1.3 million jobs per year, we would only be maintaining the current situation in terms of employment level, which means that we would not be improving, and this is not a good situation. It is not a pleasant and it is, in fact, a disturbing situation because--and this is an absolutely proven fact--there is a great deal of underemployment.

So the employment situation in Brazil is something that really needs much greater attention. You might have asked me what I have done as Labor minister to deal with this employment situation, particularly taking into consideration that the nation is short of data. It is improving more every day but, due to our development, we always feel a greater need.

I would then say that in the Labor Ministry we are now studying what methodology we should use for something that seems very important within the policy of generating employment: direct investments by the government and what we might call other financing, resulting from government policies, by various fiscal-incentive agencies, such as BNDE [National Economic Development Bank] loans, SUDENE [Superintendency for Development of the Northeast] policy--things of that sort. When we have established this methodology we will be in a position to sponsor research about what has been the rate of employment generation in response to all these factors.

O GLOBO: The cost of each new job in the rural area and the cost of each new job in the urban area are already calculated. It behooves the country to stem the exodus of rural populations to the outskirts of large cities, where they live in conditions of underemployment and neglect. Therefore, since it is much cheaper to create rural employment and since agriculture is a government priority, is there any orientation in the direction of emphasizing employment generation in the rural areas?

Macedo: The government is giving special attention to agriculture. This matter of emphasizing agriculture is very important, all the more so when you note that the number of small properties in agriculture is much greater than that of large properties. It is also much more significant as an employment generator, since the processes of the large property, of course, are much more mechanized. We note that production of foodstuffs has not kept pace with national development. And as inflation is a summation of items, the conclusion is reached that food prices have increased the most. So this emphasis is fully justified.

O GLOBO: Do you prefer food prices to be lower?

Macedo: Absolutely. It is a necessity.

O GLOBO: We are a nation with a rural economy and urban social legislation. It seems there is a Labor Ministry for the city, but not one for the countryside.

Macedo: To some extent, national development, the economic process, is based upon agriculture, which is considered the creator of capital that is later used in the industrial phase, which comes about as a result of capital formation in the agricultural phase. In Brazilian industrial development, we arrived at a point where there was more emphasis on industry than on agriculture. With the emphasis that President Figueiredo's government is giving to agriculture, all of us are now guided in that direction. Within the Labor Ministry I always say that I am now a man much more concerned with the urban problem but, frankly, this is a natural thing for the nation as a whole.

I have been trying to give one of our services, SENAR (National Rural Apprenticeship Service), a much more active presence.

In terms of training agricultural manpower, we have done very little. We are aware of this. I think manpower training is justified by science and is of major importance for the nation. Let me digress a bit, because I think this is very important. I find, for example, that one of the major achievements of countries such as Germany was exactly the special attention given, since the Middle Ages, to manpower training. So all of us to some extent were brought up with the idea that the German people were more inclined to the industrial process. German machinery was better than any other machinery. The creativity of the Brazilian is enormous, is very great, and we constantly receive praise and more praise, even from German

businessmen. Manpower training in Brazil cannot yet be compared to manpower training in Germany. I was really thrilled with what I saw. As I see it, the process is the catalyst of national development. I think it is a great investment. Only, rather than investing in some material thing we are investing in man to produce more, to learn how to produce. I agree that Brazilian legislation is directed much more toward the industrial process and the commercial process. It may even have been due to the legislation itself that labor unions have sprung up much more in cities than in the countryside. But I should like to point out that we have an extraordinary number of rural labor unions during the Figueiredo government. If you check into the number of rural charters granted by the Labor Ministry in the Figueiredo government, you will see that the number granted rural unions was significantly greater than the number of charters granted to industrial and commercial unions.

O GLOBO: The problem of rural labor has an aspect related to labor relations, strictly speaking, and it has another aspect related to employment. One of the arguments made in favor of the alcohol program, when the subject began to be discussed, was that it would create many jobs in the countryside and would be an important contribution to check the migration of rural manpower toward the cities, dramatized by the phenomenon of the migrant worker. The alcohol program is now underway, but what is the general picture of employment expansion in the countryside?

Macedo: I must tell you that we will only be able to measure the increase in employment when we are able to count upon more precise data. The data we have are data that, as I said, are still very deficient. You have raised a problem that is very important, the problem of the migrant worker. The problem of the migrant worker has been discussed thoroughly, exhaustively. I feel there are many variables that influence the process of the departure of the rural man to the cities, which does not always depend only upon employment opportunities. The existing legislation has influenced it greatly. There was a time when there were certain disincentives to the employer himself: if the employee were to die on his property, he would have to become involved with the labor courts. But there are other variables.

This set of variables has, to some extent, led to a very large number of migrant workers. Meanwhile, we must note that there is some correlation between urban development that is within the economic process and industrial development capable of absorbing the excess of rural people who migrate to the city. This is the case in every country of the world.

O GLOBO: Urbanization has been a universal, apparently irreversible, phenomenon. Could Brazil, in its particular case, be able to check what is a universal trend, the transfer of population from the countryside to the city?

Macedo: Brazil must face a problem of adaptation. I am afraid it is very difficult to accelerate Brazilian industrial development more than we are now in order to readily absorb what is the natural and normal tendency of the economic process of migration to the city. Now, how must we do this?

we must try to adopt, try to bring benefits to the countryside (as example, more schools, more recreation. I recall that recently Jaime Lerner made a suggestion about a certain type of community that could be established alongside the major highways. This sounded to me like a solution that could be adopted. I don't know whether we could check the process in this way, but at least it would be an attempt to adapt. Our policy should not be to delay this process but rather to advance the process of industrialization at the same time that we would also be attempting a process of rural mechanization.

O GLOBO: Will the alcohol program generate a significant number of jobs in the countryside?

Macedo: That is a subject that has been thoroughly discussed, and I have a certain fondness for the so-called mini-distillery, precisely because the mini-distillery is capable of increasing employment much more significantly than can the large distillery. Because the large distillery will mechanize the processes of production without increasing employment. So it would not generate as many jobs as would the mini-distillery. I have that feeling. But, as a matter of fact, the process being followed in Brazil of incentives to agriculture does not refer only to the alcohol program; it is an overall process.

O GLOBO: There is a phenomenon of underemployment in the large cities, and society fears what might happen in places such as Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Belo Horizonte, in the escalation of urban violence.

Macedo: We referred a moment ago to the process of manpower training. Today, if we look into what is related to the level of employment, we shall see that this level is lowest in civil construction. As soon as you see that employment is dropping in civil construction you fear for these people, because they do not have the flexibility to change from one occupation to another.

O GLOBO: In what may be a hasty extrapolation, a report published in Rio de Janeiro a few days ago tried to say that at the moment when several metro construction sites were closed in Rio, the crime rate in the city increased.

Macedo: The crime problem is very complex. To the extent that employment decreases, underemployment increases greatly. One more reason to speed up the process of manpower training. Hence the attention the Labor Ministry gives today to manpower preparation. Recently I went to Feira de Santana to award 2,410 diplomas in manpower training and one businessman told me, with pleasure, that he had about 400 employees and only 11 of them were from the Center-South. Thanks to programs such as that one, he was absorbing local manpower. You see, manpower training has significant influence.

O GLOBO: You sponsored legislation that contemplates wage negotiation in terms of productivity increases. Is it possible to give figures about the influence of manpower training on productivity?

Macedo: It is not possible to give figures, but I think the conclusion is obvious. It is clear that to the extent you increase and improve manpower training you naturally increase and improve productivity. It is difficult to quantify. First, because the law giving special prominence to productivity is recent. Productivity became a magic word only a short while ago. And manpower training in Brazil, in my opinion, still needs much greater attention. Brazilian manpower needs overall guidelines. I think we have all the mechanisms, but what we need is to make them interact and function with greater precision.

Q: Mr Minister, there is an obvious qualitative gap between the migrant worker and the civil-construction laborer, and between the construction laborer and the skilled metallurgical worker of the ABC [refers to industrial sections of Santo Andre, Sao Bernardo do Campo and Sao Caetano do Sul]. The construction worker makes the minimum wage and the metallurgical worker made about 13,000 cruzeiros last year, lived in a rather nice home and owned a late-model car that cost at least 100,000 cruzeiros. Could manpower training widen this gap?

Macedo: Manpower training will reduce this gap for those who are making less money. Perhaps we must think about manpower in two ways: manpower training to improve the quality of existing manpower and manpower training for those who have not yet received any preparation. So we have one for advanced training and one for preparatory training. I think this differentiation answers your question.

Q: Then you would say that there is a shortage of skilled manpower at the same time that there may be underemployment of unskilled manpower?

Macedo: If we were in a position today to initiate a process of manpower training for a possibly large number of construction workers who have become underemployed, they would be fully capable of competing with others for certain types of employment. Each of us is a bit conditioned by his own experience. Central do Brasil has had shops, a depot, in my hometown of Jato Lagoas for a long time. I remember this well because my father worked for Central do Brasil. When I was a young man, Central do Brasil established in my hometown a school devoted to manpower training for youth, which had the purpose of making it easier for Central do Brasil to recruit youths already adapted to working. Now, my hometown was devoted to farming and livestock raising. But, to the extent that the town began to train these young men, I noticed that, rather than their being recruited by Central do Brasil, they began to set up small shops in town, the result of which, as time went by--and it did not take long--was that this farming and pastoral town became an industrial town. Note well that the investment was made in manpower, as a catalyst of industrial development. This was a process that I saw, that I witnessed. So it is clear that manpower training, as I see it, is one of the best and most profitable investments the nation can make.

INTERVIEW WITH PLANNING MINISTER DELFIM NETTO

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 3 Feb 80 p 8

[Interview with Planning Minister Antonio Delfim Netto in Brasilia on 1 February by reporters Abraham Zabludovsky, Jesus Sauregui and Rafael Garcia of Chapultepec TV, Mexico: "Delfim to Mexican TV: There Will Not Be a Recession in the World Economy"]

[Text] In an interview for Chapultepec TV, Mexico, held last Friday in Brasilia, Planning Minister Delfim Netto said he does not expect a recession in the world economy that would jeopardize the Brazilian goal of exporting $20 billion this year and achieving equilibrium in the trade balance. He especially cited the American case, where "the fact that there is going to be an election is a guarantee that there will not be a recession." According to Delfim Netto, the goal of $20 billion represents a restoration of the exports the country failed to make in recent years. The greatest problem, in the planning minister's view, is in expanding these exports and making "a great import-substitution effort" to facilitate resumption of growth. Reporters Abraham Zabludovsky, Jesus Sauregui and Rafael Garcia took part in the 18-minute interview for Mexican television.

Question: What is the actual situation in terms of unemployment, the foreign debt and Brazil's petroleum purchases this year?

Delfim Netto: This year Brazil should spend about $10 billion to buy petroleum. Until 1973 we were accustomed to spending about $500 million. This indicates a 20-fold increase in petroleum expenditures between 1973 and 1979. In 1980 we should spend about $10 billion. This certainly represents an extraordinary impact on the Brazilian economy, which has caused two major problems. On the one hand, a very high rate of inflation which is now at about 80 percent and which we hope to reduce this year yet. On the other hand, a very large deficit in current accounts that should also begin to be reduced this year. The oil price increase produced a very substantial modification in the structure of the Brazilian economy.

In response to that, the economy has been adapting rapidly. We are carrying out a broad program of replacing fossil energy with renewable energy; we are producing alcohol and we should have a production in 1985 equivalent to about 170,000 barrels of petroleum a day. We are developing our coal production; we are developing a technique for using Brazil gas in agricultural machinery. I believe this will help us very much to reduce petroleum consumption in the near future. Meanwhile, we are greatly expanding the search for petroleum in Brazil. It is our hope that with this expansion we will find larger reserves and thus reduce the pressure of higher petroleum prices on the balance of payments.

I believe that, if we take a perspective of 5 to 6 years, the Brazilian economy will be adjusted to the petroleum crisis and will appear, let us say, totally different. Adjusted to the petroleum shortage, which will eventually occur everywhere. The petroleum shortage today is a shortage for those who do not produce petroleum, but within 15 or 20 years it will be a shortage for all, those who produce and those who do not produce petroleum.

Question: Mr Minister, in many countries of the world the struggle against inflation is waged by a team. The opposite appears to occur in Brazil: President Figueiredo has turned the fight against inflation over to you, and only you. Do you have all the powers needed to reduce inflation from 70 percent to 45 percent?

Delfim Netto: The fight against inflation has a unified command, as I believe occurs in all nations of the world. Command is really in the hands of the president of the republic himself. There has been a centralization here in the Planning Ministry of all decisions included within the scope of the federal government. Inasmuch as a significant portion of Brazilian inflation was being produced by government enterprises, the president gave instruments to the Planning Ministry with which such deficits might be reduced. But the fight against inflation is carried out in Brazil just as is done in all parts of the world: through an appropriate monetary policy, through an appropriate fiscal policy, through an appropriate wage policy and by controlling public expenditures. Our hope is that the entire nation will be engaged in this struggle, concerned about this struggle. And that is what we have been seeing. I believe we have a good chance of reducing inflation in 1980 to a level close to what you mentioned.

Question: What will be the specific steps in 1980 to cut inflation in half?

Delfim Netto: The most important step was eliminating the public deficit. Government enterprises had a deficit financed in a very inappropriate way, in an essentially inflationary manner. This has been eliminated entirely. During 1980 government enterprises will not exert any inflationary pressure. Essentially, real expenditures will not be reduced. What is being reduced is that which was financed by inflation. And we hope to increase somewhat the efficiency of the public sector, because government control over these enterprises has also increased.

Question: Many persons in Brazil criticize the very high level of foreign debt. The international bankers, however, appear eager to continue lending to Brazil. Is the Brazilian foreign debt manageable?

Delfim Netto: I believe the foreign debt is entirely manageable. We have a statistical problem in Brazil. Brazil must be the only country in the world that records private-sector debt as [public] debt. I don't think this occurs even in your country. Private-sector debt is a debt that remains unbeknownst; no one has any control over it. In Brazil, when it is said that the nation owes $69 billion, this includes a substantial amount from the private sector. About $14 billion to $15 billion or a little more is private-sector debt. This debt is entirely manageable, as is proven by the fact that we continue to have great interest by the bankers in continuing to finance it.

We are continuing to expand exports, the nation is certainly one with very good development prospects--it is having some difficult moments as are all countries in the world--and it certainly has the resources to overcome these difficulties. And the bankers who study a somewhat longer period, of 5 to 10 years, know that Brazil is a good risk. This is exactly why we do not have any problem in managing the debt. It is the intention of the Figueiredo government to gradually reduce the growth rate of this debt and we hope to do this beginning in 1980.

Question: Exports of $20 billion are mentioned for 1980. But, in your forecasts, don't you expect a moderate recession in the industrialized world?

Delfim Netto: It is necessary to distinguish between what the economists think and what really happens. Economists are always thinking about recession. The OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) report, the International Monetary Fund report, always talk about recession, and when December rolls around they write another report to explain why there wasn't a recession. I think the same thing will happen in 1980. Certainly, the world is not in top condition; it is certainly not going to grow as it grew in the beginning of the 1970 decade; but I don't believe there will be a recession.

The American case is very important; no one can suppose that there will be a recession in the middle of an election year. The fact that there will be an election is a guarantee that there will not be a recession. However much control there will be--and I think there will be substantial control of monetary policy in the United States--it will not be sufficient to produce a recession. The American economy is also adjusting to the new world situation. Nor do I see reasons to expect a recession in Europe. Certainly growth will be less than it customarily has been, but there will not be a recession. This estimate of $20 billion is entirely feasible. To some extent it represents a recovery of exports that we failed to make in recent years because of the problems we had with agricultural production. This year we should not have to import any foodstuffs--maybe a little wheat--and

we thus will save $1.5 billion. And we certainly will increase exports of agricultural products by $2.5 billion to $3 billion.

The increase in exports of industrialized products is something that has occurred every year and that I believe will continue to occur. Hence, I believe the objective of $20 billion is feasible.

Question: What is your estimate of annual export growth in the next few years?

Delfim Netto: We are speaking in nominal terms. You have a depreciation of the dolar of at least 10 percent. Then I would say that exports will grow, let us say, 10 percent in real terms, and another 10 to 12 percent in nominal terms. That gives an export increase of 22 percent, more or less, due to the depreciation of the dollar.

Question: We have heard that there are many storage problems in the alcohol program. How will this be resolved?

Delfim Netto: So far there is no storage problem. The big problem is in planting sugarcane. The planted area must increase very quickly and we are making a big effort. We have available areas, we have funds and we have techniques. So I believe we shall solve the PROALCOOL [National Alcohol Program] problem very satisfactorily. PROALCOOL is costing about $1 billion a year. We shall probably put some $4 billion or $5 billion into PROALCOOL by 1985.

Question: Domestically, is it possible to reconcile the interests of the private sector with the objectives of the government in order to incorporate into development groups that have been left out for a long time?

Delfim Netto: Brazil is a nation that must have rapid development. If we wish to incorporate the manpower that is available, we must have rapid development. The major difficulty in accelerating development is in the balance of payments. That is why we are making a great effort for exports and import substitution. I am convinced that if we are able to overcome the balance-of-payments problem we will again grow rapidly and we will then absorb the manpower that is certainly available.

The private sector must adhere to a criterion that is the source of its survival the criterion of profit. It is up to the government to provide conditions for this criterion to be compatible with social objectives. It seems to me you must use the market to accomplish this. You must construct a policy that induces the private sector to behave in the way you want it to. If there is inconsistency between the objectives of the private sector and those of the government it will be very hard for the private sector to fulfill them. It is thus necessary to have an internal consistency between such objectives and that is what we do through the policy of subsidies.

Question: In what areas is it possible to increase cooperation and interchange between Brazil and Mexico?

Delfim Netto: I think in all areas. They are two complementary economies, at practically the same stage of development. Very similar industry and more or less equivalent agriculture. Mexico and Brazil can derive every advantage from freer and unimpeded international trade. I hope the visit of President Lopez Portillo to Brazil will be the opportune moment for us to embark upon more objective programs of cooperation.

Minister's Interview Was at 0630 Hours

The Mexican reporters who interviewed Minister Delfim Netto last Friday were flabbergasted by the hour set for the meeting: 0630 hours in the Planning Secretariat in in Brasilia. But the minister himself explained to them that recently he has been sleeping less in order to "make the most of the day." The comment by one of the journalists, which was followed by Delfim Netto's laughter: "This shows that power is the best arouser, doesn't it, Mr Minister?" The climate of the interview became particularly good-humored when one of the Mexican team's technicians--provided with 220-volt equipment--plugged it into a 250-volt outlet. The comment, also well received by Delfim Netto: "As you can see, Mr Minister, all the power seems to be concentrated in your secretariat."

8814
CSO: 1001

INTERVIEW WITH EDUCATION MINISTER EDUARDO PORTELLA

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 20 Jan 86 p 20

[Interview with Eduardo Portella, minister of education and culture, in Brasilia: "Portella Says College Entrance Examination Depicted the Bankruptcy of Education"; date and name of interviewer not given]

[Text] Brasilia--In the eyes of Eduardo Portella, minister of education and culture, the first college entrance examination of 1985 was a clear, full-length portrait of the bankruptcy of basic education, a system structured to serve strictly quantitative demands based upon the allegation that Brazil was increasingly becoming a mass society.

Hence, simultaneously with a number of changes he intends to make in the college entrance examination, the education minister wants, above all, to strengthen elementary and secondary education, which, in his opinion, have been victims of a vast national plot that lasted 20 years. Adoption of a technocratic model that gives priority consideration to quantity at the expense of quality, together with the collapse of educational reform, prompts Prof Eduardo Portella to say that a model is only as good as its results. And in this case the results were nil.

Strengthening basic education must begin with higher income for the teacher and a thorough curriculum overhaul. "We are teaching things that, in fact, have no direct contact with reality," the education minister says, asserting that 1986 will be essentially a year of curriculum revision in Brazilian education, especially emphasizing fresh content, directed toward real life and the employment market.

For this very reason he believes that now is not the time to discuss paid education, which he considers a dormant issue. After all, with 32 million students in basic education, "each one wanted more unconditionally than the next."

to discuss a problem relating to 480,000 persons is an unnecessary distraction. But he cautions that in MEC [Ministry of Education and Culture] there are no taboos on the agenda of discussion. He does not avoid debate, he ensures us, even if running the risk of misunderstandings.

[Question] You have spoken of changes in the college entrance examination but it is not yet clear what types of changes will be made nor when they will be put into practice.

[Answer] These changes will be made in 1980 and, of course, they are intended to change the nature of the entrance examination. Now, specifically: by substantially reducing the multiple-choice approach which creates a kind of mental laziness and changes the entrance decision from one based upon knowledge to a kind of guessing game. I once said, with much opposition from institutions that use this type of examination, that it was an entrance lottery, an examination in which the essential thing is to get 13 right answers--and, as you know, sometimes in a soccer pool the person who gets 13 right is the one who knows the least about soccer. From time to time this has also been known to happen in the entrance examination.

[Question] What will the changes be?

[Answer] First, introducing essay-type questions, second, emphasizing knowledge of the mother tongue, based upon the principle that language is not only the instrument of communication but, above all, the area of man's existential fulfillment. So, you don't need language simply to be a journalist or a teacher of literature but, first and foremost, to be. Knowledge of the language is a prerequisite and we saw that the level of language skill was really deplorable. Furthermore, I contend we must regionalize college entrance examinations, so that they reflect certain knowledge needs of culturally diversified Brazilian regions. Another basic point is enabling the pupil to embark upon an individual intellectual adventure and not simply be one more number lost in the multitude at Maracana or some other stadium. These are the premises that will guide the study group we are forming to give a really valid alternative in the short run.

I should like to emphasize that at no time have I ever overestimated the significance and the role of the college entrance examination. That is essential so that we not think that by solving the entrance-examination problem we are going to solve the basic problem, which is implicit, which is the problem of quality. No, we will only solve the entrance examination problem qualitatively by solving the problem of basic education in Brazil.

[Question] What is that problem?

[Answer] The educational system in Brazil has arrived at a major impasse which is clearly reflected in the results of this year's college entrance examination, that is, the total bankruptcy of a system that was set up in response to strictly quantitative needs, under the allegation that Brazilian

society was becoming a mass society. Because of this, the need to strengthen basic structures, upon which we have insisted from the beginning, is still the fundamental point for transforming the entrance examination. Transforming the entrance examination begins with modifying basic education in Brazil. We really need consistent primary education and secondary education that, in fact, has almost a pre-university technical role. As long as this does not occur, there is no point in our transforming the entrance examination. It will only be useful to prevent an avalanche of unprepared persons entering the university almost gratuitously. The structural solution of this problem will not be found in the entrance examination itself.

[Question] What does MEC intend to do to improve basic education?

[Answer] Two things seem to me to stand out. The first is the matter of training and upgrading the teacher, that is, a continuing effort for his improvement concurrent with an elevation of his salary level. Earning what he does in Brazil today, it is impossible to expect highly competent instruction from a teacher, due not only to lack of incentive but, above all, to lack of material resources for accomplishing competent activity. The second matter has to do with restructuring curricula. I believe 1980 should essentially be the year of a thorough curriculum revision in Brazilian education, at all levels, that is, that we make the great choice of fresh content in Brazilian education. We are teaching things that, in fact, have no direct contact with reality, and for that very reason such things are lost on the students and are not assimilated as knowledge.

When we speak of fresh content, some things are essential in the life of [illegible] the average productive man--out of the ordinary man. First, he must know how to communicate. Hence, he needs the instrument of language, secondly, he must know how to count, he must know how to think, and these things do not exist in isolation--that is a purely didactic separation, [illegible] in itself, because I do not know whether you are speaking without knowing how to think or thinking without knowing how to speak. That is, the act of thinking is also an act of linguistic articulation and the act of linguistic articulation is also an act of thinking. So if you reduce the content of disciplines such as the Portuguese language under the pretext that, to be a physicist, you do not need the Portuguese language, it is a fundamental error. If you eliminate the possibilities of thinking you also create increasingly impoverished entities, you are promoting a progressive internal impoverishment that leads us to a qualitative leveling. At present, there is talk about reintroducing philosophy in basic education. Now, that is fine, but only so long as descriptive philosophy is not introduced but rather that part of philosophy is introduced that leads to thinking and never the pure and simple history of philosophy, as was done in Brazil, because this really has no utility. But certain processes of reflective activity! That, yes. You probably don't need to create a discipline for this--it is sufficient to place it in the correct disciplines of the social sciences. As for the Portuguese language, I recall that in the [illegible] of Communications there was no instruction in the Portuguese language. When I headed the Liberal Arts School of the Rio de Janeiro Federal

University, a group of students from the Communications school came to ask me if I could assign them some Portuguese-language teachers. We had barely begun to think about the upheaval brought by our history when we suddenly began to construct theories about mass culture and the prevalence of image over verbal expression. All this was elaborated with a certain skill but with much technical irresponsibility. And at that time the despised verbal expression, which was pure and simple knowledge of the language, was entirely relegated to a secondary plane, within, moreover, a type of society very much interested in fashions, in consumption values, in products that shout and howl one over. This is largely responsible for the circumstance in which a school of communications is teaching visual but not verbal communications.

[Question] Toward the end of Minister Ney Braga's administration, there was a very big movement within MEC in regard to the idea of the hidden curriculum, necessary to accompany even elementary-school teaching.

[Answer] But the necessary hidden curriculum is an astronaut's regimen. You must have a little more than what is absolutely necessary, because he who has only the necessary does not have what is necessary. I disagree with this overly economic diet. I really think that we need not have any curricular waste as we had before, but to remain within the limits of needs calculated in a questionable fashion is always a technocratic standard. What is hiding behind all this is a standardization of behavior. But what is good for you may not be good for me. So there must be a minimum margin through which your identity and mine pass without merging. And it is in this margin of something more--and not in the official diet--it is in this margin that my worth is distinguished from yours, through the way in which you manage the something more than the necessary diet.

[Question] Within the context of problems faced by Brazilian education you recently criticized the technocratic model. Why is that?

[Answer] The administration of the technocratic model leads us to a lack of simplification. It is essential that we renounce the technocratic model in terms of education if we are to advance. The technocratic model is a monetarist, highly computational, model, measuring the success of transactions in terms of an extremely narrow concept of cost effectiveness. If this model were to persist, a model that undoubtedly has the support and protection of the economic apparatus, education is left with a reduced margin of mobility, since it interferes at every instant with its freedom. As every administrative decision is basically an economic decision, it is at every instant confronted with the economic model. Now, should this model oriented toward this mercantilist evaluation of educational yield persist, we are, first, obliged to place education on a more or less secondary plane within a scale of priorities; and, second, we shall cease to infer the importance that certain other priorities really have a much more essential function. That is, we shall continue to measure in terms of numbers, in terms of quantities, and not in terms of quality. But if we assume instead that education is basically an effort of training, we must realize that

quality has a price, and that it is an expensive product. Either we are really willing to pay that price, or we simply go on to talk about other things.

[Question] Do you see political possibilities to, first, alter this model now and, second, to obtain the funds needed for upgrading the teacher and for the other expenditures needed for qualitative improvement?

[Answer] I view political conditions very closely, if only because I contend that this type of model is now worn out, exhausted. It has given everything it has to offer. To such a degree that, at this very moment, either we are capable of making a socially profound qualitative turnaround or we shall deepen the impasse. It is from difficulty or crisis--from the limiting situation--that strength emerges for one who does not have it.

[Question] What about funding?

[Answer] We intend to get funds through budgetary appropriations, from a much more rational planning of funding. It is still essential for us to defend ourselves against the policy of clientelism, which greatly disperses resources, and to seek allocations through different, even extra-official, sources. Also to do something that MEC has begun to do with some success, which is a constant policy of partnerships. In the case of the urban outskirts, for example, we have formed partnerships with the Interior Ministry. In the case of the program for rural areas we have formed partnerships with the Agriculture Ministry.

[Question] How do you intend to defend the MEC from clientelist politics?

[Answer] That is a really difficult question. I can answer it in terms of possible grounds for expectations. I am going to make a very great effort to defend the MEC technically, since, from the beginning I enunciated what would be a pedagogy of quality. Then, this effort represents also containing the historic and chronic clientelism within MEC. If it were not how precisely to that, it would not be a desirable ministry. The frequency with which we see names of the minister's dismissal and the long list of possible successors shows that the MEC is indeed a much coveted post.

[Question] You spoke of extra-official sources of funds. What would these sources be?

[Answer] Right now, for example, I am getting aid from the Ibero-American Education Organization; that is one. We intend to enter a somewhat different dialog with private business, which could also result in another source. The International Culture Fund is also an alternative.

[Question] Specifically regarding upgrading teachers, it seems there was a study concluded in the ministry some time ago. Will it be put into practice?

[Answer] That study was a pioneering study, but it did not meet with a reception worthy of its effort. As the subject is still open and is fundamental, we are making another study, this time with participation by the Brazilian Confederation of Teachers. I think participation by this confederation has two advantages. In the first place, it will result in the group's participation in arriving at a decision and, in the second place, as the official agencies do not have statistics upon which we can rely and as the teachers' confederation has deputies or agents in every state of Brazil, it can perfectly well conduct a survey at the municipal level, obtaining a body of data that we do not now have. We do not know how many municipal teachers there are in Brazil today, nor exactly how much they are paid. So, any program is thus a shot in the dark.

[Question] Wouldn't this lack of receptivity, for example in the case of the plan for upgrading the teacher, precisely reflect a lack of capacity or of receptivity on the part of whoever has control of funds?

[Answer] I don't know. That could possibly be the problem, but this material was released to the press before being submitted to the government as a significant source of support. But this also caused much disturbance. Specifically in the case of our two key programs, that of the urban outskirts and that of the rural areas, we were or less reallocated MEC funds and there is now a specific provision for supplementing salaries--with MEC funds.

[Question] When you spoke about restructuring the curriculum, would that mean that you are agreeing with the criticisms that pointed out a weakness of the model contained in the legislation for educational reform that went into effect 8 years ago?

[Answer] There is definitely disapproval of this model to the extent that after the regulatory period expired results were not up to expectations, but rather the contrary. The model is only as good as its results.

[Question] What about secondary education? With reference to the concern for technical and occupational training, what is the recommended direction?

[Answer] I must confess that I see no course other than that of a more intimate link with business. The Brazilian government does not have the resources to singlehandedly undertake occupational training. So true is this that it has been mentioned throughout this whole period, since the moment when the reform instituting guidelines for occupational training went into effect, there has never been occupational training in Brazil. The only occurrence of occupational training throughout this whole period of reform came only from the already existing technical schools and agricultural schools. Secondary education, in fact, continues--regrettably--to be a preparation for the university, that is, it is the great congregational sanctuary where all homage is rendered to the myth of the university. It is a kind of mosque where the prayers of the university are said with high-sounding profusion. This occurs to detriment to the great alternative of

the employment market, which is the intermediate market. From the moment when we accelerated development of the university, we at the same time developed the fantasy of the university. They had to accompany each other and everyone took massive doses of university sleeping pills; everyone dreamed of his university and did not know that what awaited him was degreed unemployment.

[Question] What is MEC's responsibility in relation to the problem of excess or poor distribution of openings in the universities and the lack of employment opportunities for those who graduate? Do you think MEC has any responsibility in this?

[Answer] There is a responsibility in the sense that the Ministry of Education did not exert a strong effort to make known occupational possibilities or alternatives. It could have performed that wholesome pedagogical task of reporting this university suicide in advance--and this was not done. Furthermore, MEC was also remiss in regard to university options and, believing it could carry out secondary-school occupational training on its own, obstructed occupational training; it was talked about but not done. Within the university, it also committed an error to the extent that it let professions proliferate without the slightest alternative. Furthermore, at a more advanced level, it organized teaching careers in a system. And the overall system of public employment in Brazil makes the diploma very worthwhile. This resulted in persons choosing certain professions knowing beforehand that these professions did not have employment prospects but indicated possibility of access to public service and to certain employer circles. So, at all these levels, MEC has a greater or lesser responsibility.

[Question] And what does MEC intend to do now to change this picture?

[Answer] First, there must be a consolidation of secondary education so that, although it may be an apprenticeship for the university, it can also be a fine road without any disgrace for anyone. Second, if it is really able to consolidate the basic structures, it can become a type of entrance examination that is even easier than what we have now. Personally, I must confess that I should like to see the day arrive when we could do without the college entrance examination. Frankly, I favor abolishing the college entrance examination, but not under present conditions, with the basic structures liquidated, shattered. But the pattern is that, after finishing secondary education, you submit to some minimum selection process and receive a certificate to enter the university, when that is the case. This, however, cannot occur in Brazil now, because what we did throughout these 20 years was liquidate the basic structures. Basic education was liquidated. A vast national conspiracy was organized against basic education--and this goes back about 20 years. For 20 years we have done nothing but liquidate basic education and now when it is asked to meet the needs of the university it cannot, and the result was this college entrance examination that we have now. It is not the student's fault. The students learned the education that was taught and the teachers taught what they could teach.

the universities took what they could get and the result was the only thing that could happen: a clear, full-length portrait of Brazil's failure.

[Question] Within the scope of the university, what does MEC intend to do to correct this situation?

[Answer] I have already done a first thing: in September MEC sent an extensive circular to the universities asking that they not isolate themselves and restructure their teacher training in view of the needs of primary and secondary education. It is the first time in the history of higher education that the university was taken off its pedestal and called upon for an essential task, that of rebuilding the nation's basic education.

[Question] Does MEC have any concern within the scope of the university, other than for secondary education and the college entrance examination, in adjusting the number of openings to the needs of the employment market and making education more oriented to professional activity?

[Answer] Yes, it does. As I said, in view of the time and the changes in the college entrance examination, we never imagined that we would be able to do anything as early as 1980, because a change in the college entrance examination is a thing that is initiated very far in advance. But in 1981 we intend to participate very actively in this. We intend to create a labor exchange in concert with the Labor Ministry so that when the student graduates he has somewhere to go.

[Question] And what if he has nowhere to go, as in the case of professions that are in fashion such as, for example, communications, that continue to graduate professionals for already saturated markets?

[Answer] This labor exchange comes at the end, but it is necessary to have basic orientation at the beginning of a career and in choosing it. MEC intends to provide orientation before and after the university.

[Question] How does the ministry intend to guide the universities in terms of a distribution of openings more in keeping with the employment market, as long as a decree-law passed during the Costa e Silva government is in force that prohibits institutions of higher learning from reducing the number of openings in any of their courses, whatever they may be?

[Answer] The number of openings is, in fact, a legal requirement. But there has to be a certain realignment from one course to another. Beyond that, the existence of a certain number of openings in a certain course does not necessarily mean that all of them must be filled. This is the case with several disciplines based upon this year's college entrance examination, which apparently will bring us some problems that I would rather not anticipate. This college entrance examination was held with a minimum passing grade of 30 percent. This grade is a minimum guarantee of quality; there was a time when one could pass with a grade slightly above zero. Some institutions did not manage to fill 50 percent of openings in certain courses. If this

continues it will cause those who obey the rules to go bankrupt. We will face the impasse of the 20-year conspiracy because, on the other hand, it is not fair, simply because this problem exists, not us to let persons enter the university who do not have the minimum qualification for being there. So there will be a crisis for those who follow the rules and an attempt to restore that system of surpluses, which is entirely wrong. But I imagine that the effects of this type of procedure have not died out and will certainly try to return.

[Question] This will result in the university paying for the errors of secondary education, will it not?

[Answer] It is not exactly that, because there is the underlying factor that it is not solely the error of secondary education. The university grew unduly. Universities were manufactured with enormous frequency--they could not have simply grown that much in a country such as ours. This demonstrates the isolation of the university. It is an old problem that has serious consequences: the university ignores society, which ignores it. Moreover, it isolates itself and thinks it can construct its own destiny autonomously. Eventually basic education reaches a point that generates a college entrance examination such as this, which is almost the corollary of the process. So the university must at this time be saying to itself: "And we thought we had nothing to do with secondary education, but we do." Despite all the negative facets that this situation can have, we are also able to arrive at such an extreme situation that we really have to make a radical choice. Perhaps we had to arrive at such a state so that we could be reborn from it. It is a high price, but certain excessively credulous societies need a little suffering in order to arise again--this is the aspect that can be beneficial.

[Question] What was the significance of this year's college entrance examination?

[Answer] Nationwide, about 1,400,000 took the college entrance examination. This is exactly the number of persons already in the university--the number who took the college entrance examination is equal to the population within the university.

[Question] Doesn't this number justify a multiple-choice college entrance examination?

[Answer] As a matter of fact, the multiple-choice college entrance examination is the easiest to handle, the easiest to administer, the easiest to grade. This is the major argument that is given in favor of the college entrance examination of "x's". As a mass examination, if you were to grade in any other way, dispensing with the computer, it would be a very complicated thing. But I ask you: If you are speaking of quality, that is what quality is; will the price be paid? It is more complicated, more difficult, it requires more people, but it is worth the effort, because we are building a society. We are not putting people in universities simply to put them in a certain sanctuary, but rather to build a society and a history. Now, in

accounting--which is not accounting--for a society and for history, all these expenditures are highly beneficial: they are social investments and not costs--costs in fact is technocratic terminology, with which we are so impregnated that, even at the moment when one is trying to make a criticism of technocracy, he still reverts to its vocabulary, to such an extent are we imbued. But we are really reaching an impasse. This mass college entrance examination is the result of the universities' perception that it was very complex to have individual college entrance examinations. The PUC [Pontifical Catholic University] of Rio de Janeiro was the only one to do so this year and other universities are beginning to make this choice, but they are still few within the overall context. I ask you: is a university that is not capable of giving an entrance examination capable of being a university? It turns the examination over to a mass enterprise, a macro-company that is made responsible for that entrance examination. Now, this macro-company operates on an economy of scale that is different from that of the typical university in terms of its own operational cost, because a college entrance examination is a capitalist activity with a complete system of inputs and outputs, of revenues and profits. All this is part of a highly planned economy. Hence, we may yet some day have the multinational college entrance examination companies here, grading the examinations of entire regions. But clearly this macro-business cannot cope with a number of details that are essential in an operation of this nature, even from the viewpoint of quality. It is natural that this occurs. But the universities lazily ask for them--and that is why the universities are in their present condition. Veiga de Almeida University in Rio de Janeiro is in trouble, with 6,000 engineering students, the world's largest engineering university. Sounds like a joke, doesn't it? They say they even hold classes in the chapel.

[Question] That explains why so many viaducts fall down, doesn't it?

[Answer] That explains it. It is dangerous to walk under a viaduct or even past a building. A while ago we passed by a building in Leme that was condemned and it was demolished last week. But, 6,000 engineering students in Veiga de Almeida? Can it be? It has discarded a number of tasks that are essential and is concentrating on tuition accounting. An early discard is the college entrance examination, which is an inconvenient thing, difficult to do, not very profitable--just one another "V" examination and the matter is closed.

[Question] In any event, the university will not be able to stop growing. We will have 300 million people by the year 2000. What will be done?

[Answer] It is one thing to let the university grow. The growth is something else. You multiply the growth of the university through petty social emulations of the provincial type: if my city has a university, why doesn't yours? Or vice-versa. This, in fact, is a growth that cannot be sponsored by the state without incurring a serious cultural responsibility. But, let the university grow at its own natural rate? It is inevitable.

[Question] How is the debate progressing on the subject of paid education in the federal institutions of higher learning?

[Answer] Look, the program of basic structures, for example, which I consider the most needed, involves 32 million Brazilians in elementary and secondary schools. Those who are waiting for openings in school total 7 million. Therefore, in that context, the debate about paid education loses its importance, its timeliness and its urgency entirely. If you have 39 million Brazilians in the basic structures, each one seated more uncomfortably, than the next, how can you discuss 400,000? It is an unnecessary distraction because, although there are 1,400,000 university students, 70 percent of them are in private institutions and have already paid tuition; so the debate is over 400,000.

[Question] Do you mean that the debate about paid education will be postponed in view of such numbers?

[Answer] It could even be shelved entirely, because right now I am doing a study about financing higher education.

[Question] Does this postponement mean postponing the debate on the measures as well?

[Answer] The measures. Not the debates. In the MEC, we never want to postpone debates of any nature. The MEC thrives very much on debate. This is because the MEC is not, like other ministries, one that deals more with things that don't have so much need for criticism and debate, through the mechanism of administration itself. But I have the impression that the problem of paid education is a problem that is really shelved, because how are you going to discuss 400,000 when you have 32 million? You have to let something slip over here so you can tighten something up over there; you can't do everything. These 32 million, after all, will decide the fate of the next 3 million that will be wanting to enter the university. And can enter under different circumstances.

[Question] In spite of all this, the debate about paid education was brought up initially by MEC itself.

[Answer] Yes, in fact, it was MEC that brought up the matter. But one of the great arguments of MEC today is that all the themes of national education and culture were raised by it. From 15 March until the present, it brought up all the themes from out of the silence--to win, to lose, to be attacked, to be accepted, it makes no difference--and this was done deliberately.

[Question] Then this debate is being shelved intentionally by MEC, or, let us say, for reasons beyond its control: too much protesting graffiti. What is behind all this?

[Answer] They can go right on protesting, because there are more relevant reasons than that; that was one reason that was brought up, but it is not the most relevant. If you make a statistical survey of graffiti protests, you will see that there are many more protests regarding other matters than about paid education--and there will continue to be.

[Question] Is it only a question of numbers?

[Answer] It is a question of priorities. You cannot play on two teams, so you have to decide what uniform you will wear. If we decide upon a program of quality, if we give priority to basic structures and it is felt that the future of higher education depends substantially upon consolidating basic education, why should we go on discussing a sub-item on the list of matters related to higher education? It has already been discussed, and no consensus was reached. The subject was passed, it was tabled, but it could be brought up again if that becomes appropriate. Beyond that, these matters are also brought up in order to get a certain feel for public opinion. If you are in a regime that hopes to be democratic, you bring up issues. If there are certain types of reaction, you simply table the matter--its time has not yet come. This is perfectly valid and there is no disgrace in a withdrawal of this nature. The issue of paid education in Brazil, I contend, even under present circumstances, is a progressive idea, because the person entering the official university in Brazil today is a privileged student, the one who has taken the best crash course, who has paid for the best elementary and secondary education and is in a position to choose a free university. In my opinion, if we could have a different situation that would eliminate this discussion, so much the better. If we could have responsive methods of financing higher education that would surmount this discussion, still better. But as long as we are in the present circumstances, paid education is a progressive position. This current period of transition is a time of much effervescence, of much unrest. I am neither criticizing nor condemning those who were not able to see the progressive nature of this initiative and, frankly, I don't know whether we could expect it of them at this time, because it is a time when you are seeing this, you are seeing that. Pay for education? You can't go into details, going into details presupposes another historic stage, and in this historical stage you have to explode right away--and that is what happened, as also happened when the rumblers said we had made a "package," an authoritarian measure imposed from above, to reform the Brazilian university. This got newspaper headlines for 3 months and I was pictured as one of the most authoritarian ministers in the cabinet, and it disturbed me very much to see myself pictured as an authoritarian person. I once said that, on the [illegible] of authoritarianism, I wanted to be the last to arrive. I went through 3 months of this, but what can I do? This is all part of the game, because anyone who opens a subject such as this to debate must expect this type of reaction. We later went to the regional meetings and there they learned that what they thought was a legislative bill was an agenda for discussion. The teachers began to become involved in it and they were surprised to see that a large part of their suggestions were accepted and will become MEC-sponsored bills--I didn't have to do much prodding for this.

Now, as for the student body, it is a little more difficult to involve women at a time of social crisis like the present. To speak about women paying a little bit more of something now has a mythological aspect that doesn't permit it to be discussed. This matter of bringing the major issues up for discussion was a task that cannot be calculated. Nobody will credit this to our current account. But you must be a pioneer and put these things out on the table: the return of the punished teacher, censorship, repeal of Laws No 477 and No 128, university autonomy, professional advancement in the university, and so forth. this whole complex of things now enters into MEC administration. Support the teachers in their demands, even running the risk of misunderstandings.

[Question] As soon as you took over the ministry you spoke about bringing culture to the level of education, in terms of attention and budget. Are there problems in implementing this, or do you feel you have achieved your purpose?

[Answer] I have not yet succeeded. First, because we have one Culture Secretariat and several education secretariats. The state's view of the budget has not yet seen education and culture as equals, as it tends to view them separately: education is one thing and culture is another, and in that respect it has not been possible to convince them that education and culture are two absolutely equal things that operate in different areas. Budgetary treatment for cultural initiatives is not yet the same as budgetary treatment for educational initiatives.

[Question] Have you given up on this goal?

[Answer] No. In the programs for both the urban outskirts and the rural areas we have a formal mode, which is that of education strictly speaking, and an informal mode, which is that of culture. Nine months is simply not enough time to change mental habits regarding education and culture. If, for instance, you are going to operate in the urban outskirts simply on the basis of schools, which is formal education, the return is minimal. You must be able to operate informal mechanisms. But these informal mechanisms are rarely recognized as educational mechanisms by the power elite.

[Question] Your name is frequently mentioned among those likely to lose their cabinet positions. Doesn't this worry you, in view of the almost inflationary rate of cabinet casualties we have seen recently?

[Answer] At first it did, but now I have become accustomed to it. After the sixth, you become inured.

The Beginning of Change

Almost 6 months before holding college entrance examinations, it has already been heard in the Education Ministry that Mr Eduardo Portella had called for studies to make profound

changes in an educational system that, according to his closest advisers, is responsible for the disaster that the multiple-choice examination has become. In view of the results of the [illegible] [Greater Rio de Janeiro Center for Higher Education?] college entrance examination, the bankruptcy of a system built upon 20 years of errors was complete. The real education crisis, asserts educational counselor Maria Helena Si/veira (see following page [not translated in this article]), is that the teacher does not begin with the student's experience, but requires him to come up to the standard that was specified as proper.

9834
CSO: 3001

RISE, DECLINE IN REGIONAL OCTOBER EMPLOYMENT RATES CITED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 4 Jan 80 p 22

[Text] The October employment rate increased 0.53 percent in the Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region, 0.30 percent in that of Rio de Janeiro, 0.83 percent in Belo Horizonte, 0.90 percent in Recife, 1.18 percent in Porto Alegre and 0.97 percent in Salvador, whereas it fell in the metropolitan regions of Belem (1.45 percent) and Brasilia (0.16 percent), compared to September. The civil construction sector, as was the case in September, was responsible for the largest employment loss in five regions.

This information was released yesterday by the Employment and Wage Secretariat of the Labor Ministry, based upon the monthly survey of employment rates made by the National Employment System (SINE). The survey, made in 1,851 work places, covers about 2.48 million employees in the civil construction, commercial, industrial and service sectors.

In the Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region, SINE received questionnaires from 571 companies, representing a universe of 1.03 million workers, without recording an employment drop in any of the four production sectors, unlike September, when the Sao Paulo region showed a 1.61 percent drop in civil construction, which increased 0.53 percent in October.

The largest employment growth in Sao Paulo was 0.89 percent in commerce, followed by industry with 0.75 percent, civil construction with 0.28 percent and services with 0.04 percent. Employment rates for civil construction also rose in the metropolitan regions of Salvador (3.17 percent), Recife (2.70 percent) and Belo Horizonte (1.26 percent).

Service-sector employment increased in all 10 metropolitan regions surveyed by SINE.

The biggest drop in industrial-sector employment occurred in Belem (6.44 percent). Only in Porto Alegre did civil construction employment gain significantly (4.87 percent). Meanwhile, the same sector registered a decline in Belem (8.00 percent), Fortaleza (2.90 percent), Rio de Janeiro (0.97 percent), Brasilia (1.97 percent) and Curitiba (2.39 percent).

Compared to the base month (February 1977), SINE found some growth in all four sectors in Belem, Brasilia and Recife, whereas it continued negative in Curitiba, which registered a 1.27 percent loss in August and a 1.13 percent loss in September. The smallest growth rate, based upon the February 1977 through October 1979 period, was in Sao Paulo, 1.33 percent overall.

Compared to February 1977, civil construction employment increased 46.40 percent in Belem, 14.48 percent in Recife, 3.83 percent in Belo Horizonte and 9.10 percent in Rio de Janeiro.

Declines occurred in Curitiba (33.24 percent), Sao Paulo (29.98 percent), Salvador (21.83 percent), Brasilia (24.84 percent), Porto Alegre (17.19 percent) and Fortaleza (6.42 percent). The index for the other sectors rose in eight metropolitan regions, with the exception of Salvador, where it fell 2.46 percent in industry, and Curitiba, which registered a decline of 0.11 percent in commerce.

6314
CSO 1801

COLUMNIST VOTING TO DISCUSS CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

Authoritarian Presidency Advocated

[Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 1 Feb 90 p 3]

[Commentary by Pablo Rodriguez Grez: "Authoritarian Presidential System"; passages enclosed in asterisks printed in boldface]

[Text] With rigid ecclesiastical uniformity the territories freed from the Spanish yoke were taken over by anarchy. This occurred in Africa, Asia and other continents subdued by Europe. Hispanic America did not escape this universal law and it took it almost a century, with very few periods of political peace, to break away.

When Chile gained its independence, only the firm will of Bernardo O'Higgins prevented this disaster. Bernardo O'Higgins, the father of our country, took the reins of power firmly in his hands. He governed without hesitation against a resentful aristocracy that hated as well as feared him. After he stepped down, an event that was greatly applauded by the Chilean oligarchy, a period of upheaval followed. During this period efforts to impose law and order failed. All presidents--Francisco Antonio Pinto, Ramon Freire, Francisco Ruiz Tagle, Manuel Blanco Encalada and Jose Tomas Ovalle--ran into so many difficulties that they refused the presidency several times. They were convinced that this country was as ungovernable as the other nations of Spanish descent. That was the situation in 1829. Diego Portales emerges on the scene and refuses to take over the presidency unless a government which was destroyed the following year is formed.

The institutions built by Joaquin Prieto, his Minister Portales and the latter's followers remained more or less intact until 1891. That year the country takes a wrong turn and loses all the gains it had made. Parliamentarism manifested itself clearly and led the country to a point from which almost nothing lasting could be salvaged. /The events of 1973 were not a crisis; rather they were a collapse. The political system first cracked and later fell apart. Efforts to restore it are in vain because we cannot turn the clock back. Institutions, like human beings, are born, grow up and die. Death is relentless. It is sheer stupidity to rebel against the future or to attempt to remodel the past.

However, many "widowers of the political past" are trying to have us believe that traditional democracy has not died and that it is still possible to resurrect it. They resemble "Juana la Loca" in many respects as they drag the corpse of their ideologies throughout the Americas, secretly hoping to revive them. But reality is very different. No matter how hard it is for yesterday's obstinate politicians, they have no alternative but to completely restructure their political memberships, habits and institutions.

/Chile should move firmly towards the Second Republic. It should leave aside all foreign influences. Learn a lesson from its sad experience about what the future structure requires. Otherwise our nation will hopelessly collapse for the last time.../

From a Presidential to a Congressional System

/The nation, like other of Hispanic ancestry, needs a strong official to guide it. Liberty, consecrated as an act of Chilean greatness, should not be confused with permissiveness, disorder and mismanagement. An authoritarian presidential system is a negation of dictatorship, anarchy and demagogery and is an antidote for these ills./

/Despite this undeniable truth, the minority that was in power until 1971, not being familiar with our peculiarities, took it upon itself to weaken all powers of the president. These powers were irresponsibly turned over to Congress, the political parties and other bureaucratic groups. Aided by this mistake, communism eroded the institutional framework until it was able to take over power./

Three factors stand out in pursuit of this objective:

- The legislative ability of the president depended on the will and support of the majority in Congress. Without it he was immobilized and his administration paralyzed. Under this system cabinet officers were subordinate to Congress which placed conditions on policies the president wished to implement. Laws were passed even though the congressmen knew beforehand that no funds were available to implement them. (Raising pensions under Jorge Alessandri) There were some presidents who confessed that they were "prisoners of Congress." Legislation that was urgently needed to the nation was delayed for months to the opposition before it was approved. /But the most serious aspect was that the congressmen--elected by the people--were not the ones doing the legislating. Rather it was through the leadership of the various parties. Party leaders would instruct their members in the Senate and Chamber on how to vote. Thus legislative power was exercised to disaster partisan collusion. The nation and the people were unaware of these activities which were primarily concerned with the contractual electoral aspirations of the parties./

Has all of this been forgotten? What solutions are being offered by the displaced politicians who persistently try to regain power?

2. A presidential system presumes that the Chief Executive will initiate, prepare and promulgate laws. In all of these phases--with very few exceptions--the power of Congress prevailed over the will of the president. Because of this the president lost his power to shape legislation which, ultimately, is the basis for all of the government's important work.

3. As if this were not enough, there is a third, although not less important, factor. /The law is a general and abstract mandate. Its formation and implementation fall within the "legal jurisdiction" of the president (issuance of supreme decrees). To deprive the president of this authority, which is part of the very essence of his mission, Congress legislated by regulating even the most insignificant detail in each law./ Through this mechanism Congress assumed the basic prerogatives of the president, leaving him in a corner at the mercy of the political parties that were in control without a counterbalance.

   In view of this situation one wonders why we were not the victims of Marxism and its destructive tactics long before it happened.

/As a result it is necessary to establish an authoritarian presidential system and to provide the president with the kind of powers that he requires in this type of system./ Everything else tends to falsify history or distort events under the pretext of obtaining freedom which instead of becoming stronger is weakened by the ideological and electoral struggles.

Unfortunately, some government supporters in recent years changed their position. They are now calling for a "predemocratic" period that will serve as a transition to the traditional model. They believe that their pseudo-democratic pastime will attract the support of those sectors that are currently inactive. President Pinochet is so right when he says that politicians "have not learned a thing..."

Liberty Must Have Purpose

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 27 Jan 90 p 30

[Commentary by Pablo Rodriguez Grez: "Why Freedom?"; passages in plant-lines in boldface]

[Text] Recently we are bombarded repeatedly with the theme that we need to expand our freedom, eliminate all limits placed on it, organize [illegible] so that we can operate without restrictions by giving the government a subsidiary role and diminishing its intervention, thus giving it a very elementary role. Proponents claim that when the people become aware of the benefits and advantages of this system they will, almost as a reflex action, [illegible] any totalitarian attempts and defend freedom as the most prized treasure that could ever be won.

/Society thus appears as a huge "supermarket" where everyone can resupply themselves and continue fighting without respite until their individual appetites are satisfied. The only legitimate reason is the satisfaction of personal interests for which it is possible to sacrifice everything, including life, honor and country./

/This philosophy is similar to that espoused by Marxism and it inexorably leads to a society that does not differ from a communist society even though it is inspired by different ideals./ (Keep in mind that the dictatorship of the proletariate results in the elimination of the state.)

Economically, this translates into the so-called "market economy" which permits development and production as well as the allocation of resources to be shaped in the free play of supply and demand without any kind of government regulation.

/Almost without noticing it, we are listening, although in different language, to the old gibberish of the "new man." This time, however, he is committed to an ever expanding freedom, economically efficient and supportive of what he terms his "natural laws." To this system would be entrusted the future and the work that the military government is patiently carrying out./

I maintain that if this is the political, social and economic philosophy that inspires the armed forces government, the nation is condemned to repeat past experiences which will pave the way once again for totalitarian Marxism that is lying in wait to take advantage of the mistakes we are making and to deliver the final blow...

The Political Mistake

Someone once said that those who forget history are condemned to repeat it. One of our most distinguished intellectuals, Francisco Antonio Encina, although apparently unknown to the official ideologues and technocrats, wrote in reference to freedom:

"Enthusiasm for freedom, which is effective when facing tyranny or oppression, has never been throughout history a constructive idea or force. In addition, in Chile it took a negative turn at the top. For the Basques freedom has always meant a denial of government. The Basques have never been able to reconcile the idea of a strong energetic and efficient government with vigorous and healthy political freedom. For the vast majority, freedom is confused with egoism and permissiveness. It was interpreted as the right to do whatever anyone pleases."[1] (Portales, Volume II, page 168)

Freedom of itself does not move nations. It is not a powerful enough incentive to exalt a nation unless it is limited and repressed. Then it becomes the driving force of social rebellion against the tyrant. /For that reason, to attempt to create a "mystique about freedom" is an

impossible and utopian task without deep roots in the sociological make-up of our nation./ It serves only to suppress the weak, take advantage of the dispossessed, exploit those whose only possession is their ability to work and to squash the rights of others.

On the other hand, it is foolish to organize the state on the basis of theoretical or ideological works not rooted in reality. Thus to approve a constitution that would regulate a situation that still has not materialized or perpetuate an economic model that opposes the peculiarities of Chileans is nothing more than a useless exercise. The only outcome is resounding failure.

Portales' view of the constitution has been brilliantly described by Francisco Antonio Encina who said: /"Portales' view of the constitution corresponds to today's sociological concepts. The constitution is to society what clothes are to humans. They should be made to fit and not to allow comfortable and free movement. Moreover, there would be no such nonsense about confusing the clothes with the body, just as there would be about confusing the written document (constitution) with the system of government."/

/In view of these reflections, it is worthwhile to ask: What kind of constitution could the people give themselves at this time? The answer is obvious. After 5 years of emergency rule, political silence and the restoration of basic normalcy, Chile cannot produce a final political system that can represent a still emerging situation and gain strength with the passage of time./

Another Road

To make Chile a great nation, one that is in keeping with the desire of the vast majority of people, it is necessary to replace the idea of freedom now being promoted, which only leads to moral and material humiliation, with a different one that will mobilize and inspire all Chileans to pursue the desired objective. /Freedom that will strengthen and exalt Chile rather than promoting an illusion of economic efficiency. Freedom to save our destiny not just to satisfy miserly interests and appetites. Freedom to defend social justice rather than strengthening the rich. In short, freedom for Chile as a higher ideal rather than as an individual, isolated and separate experience./

During these 5 years, for reasons of national security, the social structure has cracked because of the intentional weakening of intermediate groups. Once the emergency is surpassed, inspiring movement towards a transition period, it is indispensable that we reestablish the social structure and adapt it to the new conditions. This organic fabric will provide the basis for the constitutional dress that will clothe tomorrow's social body. Without it there can be no political system or renewed constitutional regime.

(The democratic system which we seek does not require a precedent nor must it rely on foreign experience. We must give credit to Portales because he was ahead of his time. He created a unique model that was appropriate for the development of our emerging nation and for the views of the time. The model that was produced was so strong that it transformed this country into an exception within a continent in turmoil and being torn apart by anarchy. At that time there were those who wanted to copy U.S. democracy, others who sought to reestablish the monarchy and still others who wanted a return to the personal government of O'Higgins. But Minister Portales demonstrated that progress can only be made if one is imaginative and bold enough to face the future.)

Oddly enough, my ideas are stubbornly criticized because I seek that revitalizing originality that, without ignoring the past, neither does it uselessly seek to revive it. Once the difficult tasks of this administration are completed, once the debris from the 1973 collapse is removed, we should begin to build the structure for tomorrow, give some meaning to freedom and not proclaim it as the final answer to man's fate. In addition, we must begin to build the complex social infrastructure which will serve as the basis for the political superstructure which cannot be built without the former. This is the role the transition period must play. At the same time it is the most difficult and challenging period but it provides us with the opportunity to give meaning to freedom and make it symbolic.

Banning Communists Termed Essential

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 3 Feb 88 p 2

[Commentary by Juan de Dios Carmona: "Unlearned Lessons"]

[Text] The Committee of "The 20" selected a bad time to make public some of its general proposals for new constitutional norms. The idea of defending unrestricted pluralism, which does not allow steps to be taken against organizations that espouse a totalitarian system and are not excluded from the "system," is absurd and unreal in light of events recently experienced by Chile and in view of events now taking place in the world which do not require explanation. However, judgments have been made that require clarification. It has been said that to place legal or constitutional restrictions on the communists is to act out of fear and that they are completely useless.

Important historical events demonstrate that fear of totalitarianism has been expressed by making concessions to its supporters. It is a reaction that stems from the weakness and indecision of certain "bourgeois" sectors in the face of the intimidation campaigns by the friends of totalitarian [illegible] out of fear of appearing to support positions that are considered to be "progressive" or which call for "change." This was the difference between Chamberlain and Churchill during those decisive moments in the latter half of the 1930s; Hitler should have been held back at the beginning, at the first hint that his troops planned to invade other territories.

Churchill's [illegible] was ignored in favor of Chamberlain's policy of appeasement which was an "effort to prevent the second world war." What was feared and what was the result?

It has also been said that to legally bar the supporters of totalitarianism, particularly the communists, constitutes an element of an authoritarian system and is not effective. We are reminded of the autocratic regimes of the Russian Tsars, Batista in Cuba and Somoza. This is the advantage that intellectuals have of being able to support their statements by stating that they have traveled throughout the world. One can anyone compete with this? For us poor Chileans who have opted to live in Chile (which might seem insignificant for those who have traveled as U.S.), the Chilean case cannot begin to compare with such carefully selected examples.

However, it is true if we follow history after the victory of democracy during the Second World War--thanks to Churchill's leadership rather than Chamberlain's--the European constitutions banned totalitarian supporters. Law to a great extent is nothing more than reason applied to human relations. Thus the principle that the enemies of freedom should not have an unlimited right to destroy it does not only seem logical but just as well. We now can claim that Churchill was autocratic, just as we can question Germany's Adenauer's deep feelings for democracy and De Gaulle's in France. These individuals promoted these constitutions.

A society that does not defend itself is condemned. A democratic society should also use the law as a defensive weapon to guarantee its own existence. That is why communism in Western Europe was barred to adapt "democratization" to enable it to be recognized in that part of the world. Thus, at least through its statements, it claims to be just another democratic (in welfare) party as a means of participation without restrictions in the system.

It is maintained that the only effective antidote against communism is a system of democratic freedom accompanied by social justice and economic development. That is a good prescription. Intellectually, there is no question that "good ideas should replace the bad." But until such a system is developed, a country such as ours after what it has not gone through must build its democratic foundation by preventing its freedom from being destroyed before it attains a suitable level of social justice and economic freedom. If the European nations made this decision before the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Angola and Afghanistan, then there is even more reason why Chile, following the invasion of Afghanistan, should not have any doubts on the subject.

And this is not an expression of fear. It is merely common sense.

[illegible]
[illegible]

COLOMBIA ENTERS THE URANIUM AGE

Plans for 1980's Outlined

Bogota EL [illegible] in Spanish [illegible] p [illegible]

[Article by Maria Eugenia Martinez: "Colombia Enters the Uranium Decade"]

[Text] In 1980, Colombia will enter the uranium decade.

As Ernesto Villarreal Silva, director of the Nuclear Affairs Institute, told us, in the course of the next 10 years, it will be possible to begin mining uranium in areas already explored in the departments of Caldas, Huila and the Santanders.

"In 1982-83," claims Villarreal, "the first economically minable reserves, currently being explored by the Institute, along with the Colombian Uranium Company and two foreign groups, will be proven. Four years later, production could begin of enriched uranium, which is the commercial form of the mineral."

Uranium has become especially important to this country, so much so that in 1980, $30 million will be invested in the search for it.

We Know Little About Uranium

Unlike coal or oil, Colombia knows little about uranium, and started from an almost total lack of information about it. Thus the job of exploration began with a very general geological study of the mineral. The four groups that are doing the exploration have determined that there are areas of special interest in Caldas, Huila, Santander, North Santander and Cundinamarca, because of their uranium content. However, due to this lack of information, the work of exploration will continue for up to eight years.

Uranium is the raw material needed to generate nuclear energy, and Dr. Villarreal sums up its characteristics as follows:

"Uranium is a mineral that can be used to generate heat, just as petroleum, coal or gas is used, but it is different from coal and the hydrocarbons in that it has no other uses. Uranium's sole use is the generation of energy in a process of nuclear fission. The resulting heat can be used, for example, to obtain the steam needed to run turbines for generating electric power. Over 99 percent of the present use of uranium world wide is for the generation of electricity."

"This mineral has a very high energy content," adds Villarreal, "which can be appreciated from the following example: a 2,000 megawatt coal-powered generating plant requires a little over 2 million tons of coal to operate for a year. The same plant, using uranium, would need only 90 tons a year."

Uranium, through a process of fission, is the basis of nuclear energy, which has tremendous implications in fields such as medicine, agriculture, and food preservation. In the military field, one of its most widely known uses is in the atomic bomb.

Who Searches for Uranium and How

Since its founding in 1959, the Nuclear Affairs Institute has been making an inventory of our possible uranium reserves. In 1967, it published a map classifying the various areas of the country according to their potential uranium content.

But it was not until after the energy crisis of 1973 that interest grew in this country in locating and mining this resource.

"In 1973," says Villarreal, "several European governments showed interest in prospecting for uranium in Colombia and it became urgent for the national government to define a way for the foreign companies to work with us. Finally, a policy was adopted that is similar to the one that governs our petroleum affairs. That is, it was suggested that we draw up partnership contracts which would spell out not only the conditions for exploration, but also for production, in case economically minable deposits should be found."

In 1975, after two years of negotiations, a partnership contract was signed with a French firm.

"We have been working under that contract for three years," says Villarreal, "with rather interesting results. It appears that it will be possible to begin uranium production in Colombia in the course of the next 10 years."

In 1977, another partnership contract was signed with the Spanish firm of [illegible] and a third contract was signed with that same company in 1978.

"The Nuclear Affairs Institute," adds its director, "is working with the European companies exploring for the uranium. We are also carrying out exploration programs on our own and under the sponsorship of the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency. We are doing a lot that is parallel to that of the foreign groups, and the work is being done by the Colombian Uranium Company, S.A., which was recently created. Interesting results have also been obtained in three areas that we investigated and we hope that the deposits discovered by the group of organizations will begin to produce enriched uranium by 1987."

By Air and on Foot

The cost of prospecting for uranium is neither simple nor cheap. Some 10 million will be spent in one year alone for the domestic and foreign groups to carry out their exploration programs.

When the uranium is located at great depths, it must be sought with conventional methods used with other minerals. If it lies near the surface, we take advantage of the fact that it is radioactive and continually emits radioactive particles that can be detected with special equipment.

"In Colombia," said Dr Villarreal, "uranium prospecting is being done by attempting to detect that radioactivity from the air, from vehicles or on foot."

According to the findings of the Colombian scientists, Caldas would be the first area to produce uranium, followed by Huila. These Colombians constitute 80 percent of the personnel team which, together with the Spaniards and the French, is prospecting for uranium.

Lack of Facilities, Personnel

[illegible]

[illegible] Maria Eugenia Martinez: "There are No Plans to Utilize Uranium [illegible]"

[illegible] 1990, Colombia will enter the [illegible] decade and will invest some [illegible] million pesos in prospecting for this material, of which we have [illegible] deposits. Uranium is almost [illegible] times more efficient than coal, in equal amounts, for generating energy, and contracts have already been signed with Spanish and French firms for this purpose, as well as under the [illegible] of the [illegible] and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The [illegible] of uranium range from medicine and agriculture to food production [illegible]. In an exclusive interview with Maria Eugenia Martinez, French [illegible], director of the Nuclear Affairs Institute, explains the system used in exploring for and utilizing uranium, as well as Colombia's lack of [illegible] to use it for the nation's progress.

Colombia has no definite plans regarding the way it will use the uranium for which it intends to prospect during the 1980's. Ernesto Villarreal, director of the Nuclear Affairs Institute, asserts that this nation has sufficient time to make those plans, but says that the discovery of uranium in Colombia opens up several possibilities for the country.

Colombia could exchange it for nuclear technology, which is very difficult to obtain, or for oil, which will be scarce by 1990. It could use part of the mineral to generate electricity, which also will be critically short during this decade.

From the human point of view, the fact that this raw material may begin to be used to generate nuclear energy implies the creation of a whole new horizon for the new generations of scientists. At present, Colombia has only five nuclear engineers. One of them is Dr Villarreal Silva, director of IAN, who has announced an extensive plan to train experts in electro-nuclear subjects.

How Uranium is Produced

The production of uranium is a costly and complicated process and one that is particularly obscure and unknown to Colombians. Unlike coal, which is taken out of the mine to be burned, the uranium must be treated inside the mine and converted into enriched uranium in order to use it. That is what we plan to do before the end of this decade.

Dr Ernesto Villarreal, who received his engineering degree from the University of the Andes and Master's degrees in nuclear engineering from the Universities of Michigan and Pennsylvania, specializing in one of the various steps in the so-called "nuclear fuel cycle," explains how this mineral is produced.

The first step is to treat the raw mineral in the mine to obtain enriched uranium, which is then transported to a plant and treated again to obtain a 100 percent pure concentration. It is a relatively simple process that could be performed in Colombia. Once the 100 percent pure uranium is obtained, it must be converted into a gas, a step which we could undertake in this country if we find large quantities of uranium.

The uranium gas then undergoes a process of enrichment in another highly specialized plant. This process consists of varying the isotopic composition of the natural uranium. As we all know, the elements of nature are composed of isotopes and uranium has two principal isotopes. Unfortunately, the one which is used to generate electricity is the more scarce of the two.

This enrichment process allows us to increase in natural uranium the proportion of the isotope that we are most interested in.

Subsequently, the enriched uranium gas is converted into solid form again and that form is the one used to manufacture the fuel elements that are transported to a nuclear reactor and used in a process of fission to generate heat.

After the fuel element, with the uranium in solid form, has been in the nuclear reactor for a period of time, it is taken out of the reactor. Then that fuel element is reprocessed to obtain the unspent uranium, along with a series of by-products formed while the fuel element was in the reactor. These by-products have medical or industrial uses.

This reprocessing of fuel elements gives off highly dangerous radioactive wastes which must be stored for a prudent length of time in order to avoid risks to the population."

The IAN and the National Uranium Company

There is only one agency in Colombia with the infrastructure necessary to support the work of prospecting for and producing uranium in Colombia. The Nuclear Affairs Institute, which is equipped with a nuclear reactor, a neutron generator and a source of industrial-type cobalt.

This agency has an annual budget of [illegible] million pesos and employs a total of [illegible] professionals, between specialists in the different branches of engineering, chemists, biologists and geologists. Its work included all matters relating to uranium until 1977, when the Colombian Uranium Company was created. Since that date, the IAN has been doing the preliminary exploration, making sure that these activities do not cause hunger in the population and developing its infrastructure of laboratories and personnel in order to achieve uranium production. The Colombian Uranium Company, for its part, is in charge of the technical end of the exploration and of producing the uranium.

We Have No Nuclear Training Facilities

Despite Colombia's wealth of uranium, and the efforts to locate and mine it, the country has not yet opened the first school where personnel can be trained in uranium geology, radiation safety or mining and marketing [illegible].

[illegible] nuclear scientists working in this area have been trained [illegible] Villarreal [illegible]. "The fact that the government is paying more attention to us now has allowed us to consider [illegible] the training of professionals. For the moment, we have sent [illegible] uranium geology specialists to study on scholarship in various [illegible]. There is marked interest in these fields of study among the new generations, especially engineering and nuclear medicine."

"The Colombian Uranium Company," says Villarreal, "is carrying out parallel programs to train people in various aspects of the industrialization and marketing of uranium in order to provide the country with the human infrastructure needed by our partnership agreements."

IAN Plans Expansion

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish [illegible] Jan 80 p [illegible]

[Article by Maria Eugenia Martinez: "We Will Have Nuclear Energy in this Decade"]

[Text] It will be possible to use uranium to generate electricity in Colombia during the '90's, explained the director of the Nuclear Affairs Institute, Ernesto Villarreal. At the moment, this is a very long-range alternative, but the uses of nuclear energy derived from that mineral are already very diverse and it is being used in our country in the fields of medicine, water resources research, food preservation, the production of new species and the improvement of industrial production.

The Nuclear Affairs Institute, the national agency in charge of investigating and disseminating the applications of nuclear energy has begun the construction of its new building this year, as well as expanding its laboratories in order to support programs, especially medical ones, that are using this kind of energy.

Medicine, Industry and Safety

The IAN has not received continuous attention from the various government administrations. This is perhaps its best period, since, because of the worldwide and national interest in uranium, they are considering increasing its budget.

For some years, the agency has been advancing programs to adapt already developed technologies to our needs in the area of nuclear medicine.

Its director says: "We have been distributing to the entire medical body of the nation the radioactive isotopes necessary for the treatment of different illnesses. Most of these isotopes are imported by the institute and diluted and prepared here. Also, we have begun to prepare some of these elements in our laboratories.

There will be nine more medical centers using equipment based on nuclear techniques, especially for the diagnosis and treatment of cancer.

"To supply the great demand for isotopic products which we will have," says Dr. Villarreal, "the institute will build a new laboratory which will be completed in a year and a half. Thus we will be better able to support the best recent use of nuclear energy among Colombians—the medical centers that specialize in the fight against cancer.

The IAS offers two services to industry: dosimetry and [illegible]. The first service determines the amount of radiation received by technicians operating equipment of this kind. The second is a kind of X-ray that is useful for determining the condition of industrial equipment.

The Nuclear Affairs Institute

BRIEFS

GUERRILLAS KILL POLICEMAN, WOUND ANOTHER--The police who were fired on with bullets yesterday in Bogota by an alleged guerrilla commando group of the FPLN belonged to the squadron in charge of guarding banks. The two policemen were traveling on their motorcycles through the area of Calle 13 and Carrera 24 when two men and a woman fired at them from a Datsun automobile. One of the policemen, identified as Carlos Julio Alvarez Medina, died instantly. The other, Jose Luis Vargas Castro, was wounded and had to be hospitalized at the police clinic. The urban guerrillas fled, apparently in the direction of Fontanetiva, where a vast search is underway to capture them. The car used by the guerrillas was abandoned at a gas station on Carrera 13 and Calle 45. It is a blue Datsun vehicle bearing license plate number 053351. [Text] [PA211911 Bogota CADENA Radio Super in Spanish 1100 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA]

FORMER RELEASED ACCUSED GUERRILLA--University Professor Luz Angela Castro de los Rios has been unexpectedly released in Bogota. Castro had been accused of being a leading member of the workers self-defense movement. She was captured 3 weeks ago and charged with masterminding the escape of guerrilla Adelaida Abadia Rey, who was serving a sentence at El Buen Pastor women's jail. Abadia was spectacularly liberated by some of her comrades by pretending that she was being transferred to a municipal criminal court. Castro was arrested and taken to the installations of the [illegible] School. A military penal judge released her after questioning her. [Text] [PA211910 Bogota CADENA Radial Super in Spanish 1100 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA]

'FARC' KIDNAPING OF TOWAR DENIED--Military authorities of the 9th Brigade have denied press reports that Jaime Tower, general manager of the Florencia soft drinks company, had been kidnaped by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC]. A military spokesman said that Tower was not present when the guerrillas arrived. They took a young girl, Odelia Ramirez, and 290,000 pesos in cash. There was much confusion after the attack because the general manager could not be located. Troops and helicopters are searching for the guerrillas. [Text] [PA212117 Bogota Radio CADENA Nacional in Spanish 1130 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA]

CSO: 3010

[illegible]

CARAZO DISCUSSES PRODUCTION, WELL-BEING

San Jose La Nacion in Spanish 29 Jan 80 p 14

[Text] President Rodrigo Carazo Odio stated last night that today the nation faces two fundamental problems: the population's well-being, and production.

He made this statement on a national radio and television network broadcast which began at 1900 hours. The president took that opportunity to assess the Costa Rican agricultural situation and to respond to interpellations by the deputies of the United People coalition and by a group of priests.

The chief of state indicated that the nation's productive structure is suffering from a relatively stagnant agricultural sector, a low rate of efficiency in some branches of the industrial sector, and a growing deficit in foreign trade. Moreover, he pointed out that "the public sector has been developed in a disorderly manner, producing high and constant deficits in the majority of government agencies, and permitting an increase in foreign indebtedness that ties up many of their resources."

"However," said Carazo, "the above-mentioned difficulties have not prevented, thanks to the enthusiasm of our people, the progressive development of the country and a constant improvement in the average standard of living. Thus, our country is at a higher level than its neighbors.

"Despite our economic growth, an important and significant part of our population is still unable to achieve a decent standard of living, as the social statistics show: [illegible],000 Costa Ricans live in extreme poverty, and [illegible] million have incomes below the poverty line, not to mention the serious housing problems they face.

"In other words, the economic development model followed in recent decades, despite some achievements in the area of economics thanks to the efforts of our workers and management, has resulted in a tremendous, dangerous social deficit.

"Nor have past administrations worked to achieve a rational use of natural resources, and our production problems depend a great deal on international

markets, which today more than ever are jeopardizing the terms of trade of non-oil producing nations."

Land Concentration

Garaso pointed out that one serious national problem is the concentration of land ownership in a few hands, and the relative drop in the number of landowners.

"According to available figures, in 1963 [illegible] percent of farms were greater than 100 hectares; by 1973 that figure had jumped to [illegible] percent. The amount of land occupied by those farms rose during those 10 years from [illegible] percent of all national territory occupied by farms, to [illegible] percent," he said.

Nonetheless, he stressed that those statistics do not accurately reflect the problem, because the concentration of land ownership has been aggravated as a result of livestock price increases since 1973.

"Thus, the situation found in 1978 in the agricultural sector, with stagnation, lack of diversification and concentrated ownership, was exacerbated by a strong tendency to consolidate land ownership as a result of high prices for some export items. Moreover, there was not even a map of arable land in the country to give farmers some basis, much less a policy of incentives for small farmers to allow them to sell their products without middlemen," claimed the president.

Four Problems

Garaso pointed out four basic problems that have emerged in the country's agricultural development, which have had serious repercussions throughout our history: a lack of funds, of technical assistance, of storage facilities and of transportation systems necessary for smaller products such as fruits and vegetables.

"Nor has there been any organization of rural dwellers to defend the sector from the pressure exerted by the well-structured labor organizations of the cities, which always demand that low prices be paid to rural producers."

What Has Been Done?

The chief of state remarked that our country will have a population of about [illegible] million by the year 2000, which will mean a constant and rising demand for agricultural products. "Considering that this demand will not be satisfied by opening up new agricultural regions, there is no recourse but to intensify current agricultural operations and expand the fertile agricultural land in use by developing irrigation programs and opening up the northern region with a highway program."

He recounted what has been done in terms of using the water coming from the Arenal lake, as well as the Tempisque River, to irrigate 120,000 hectares in the districts of Abangares, Bagaces, Liberia, Carrillo and Santa Cruz.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Help me the questions:

1. (a) What are the main difficulties you encountered in the exercise of your profession?

(b) Do you believe that you are giving the almost in terms of your capacities in the exercise of journalism? If this is not so, what do you believe daily your output?

2. (a) Errors are m[illegible] and shortcomings exist in the entire process of building socialism. Do you believe that the Cuban press [illegible] to become familiar with these situations and to overcome them?

(b) Do you think that the Cuban press is up to the level of the revolutionary process we are living through? What do you think are its main achievements and its main faults?

3. Did you study at the School of Journalism? Do you believe that these studies helped you in the exercise of your profession? What are your main contributions and what are your main shortcomings?

4. Do you believe that there is a way of promoting better journalism in Cuba? What do you think specifically of the moral and material incentives that are being applied?

List of persons interviewed

[illegible] Rossi (GRANMA); Rolando Perez Betancourt (GRANMA); [illegible] (JUVENTUD REBELDE); Lazaro Barredo (JUVENTUD REBELDE); [illegible] (JUVENTUD REBELDE); [illegible] (TRABAJADORES); [illegible] (TRABAJADORES); Mario Mencia (BOHEMIA); Andres Rodriguez (BOHEMIA); [illegible] (BOHEMIA); Humberto Bravo (RADIO REBELDE); Cristobal [illegible] (RADIO REBELDE); Claudio Perez (RADIO PROGRESO); [illegible] Batista (RADIO PROGRESO); [illegible] (RADIO RELOJ); Samuel [illegible] (RADIO RELOJ); Pedro Martinez Pires (RADIO HABANA CUBA); Juan Prado (RADIO HABANA CUBA); Orlando Castellanos (RADIO HABANA CUBA); Carlos [illegible] (NOTICIERO NACIONAL DE TELEVISION); Ramon Lobaina (ARUBA, Holguin); [illegible] Ricardo (ARUBA, Holguin); Ibrahim [illegible] (LA DEMAJAGUA, Granma); Maria Gomez (LA DEMAJAGUA, Granma); Pedro Hernandez (VANGUARDIA, Santa Clara); Carmen [illegible] (INVASOR, Ciego de Avila); C. Marcelino Vuelta (INVASOR, Ciego de Avila).

Real Cuba:

"The difficulty I ran into on most occasions in the pursuit of newspaper critique is the real displayed by officials in protecting what is supposed to be a state secret but what in reality on many occasions is nothing of the part. I work in the general sectors of the economy, and I find that very often the statistics which they refuse to give to use newsmen appear in the statistical yearbook of Cuba or other countries with respect to

[illegible]

[illegible] to go to the provinces, to visit many places, and to submit long reports for radio, lasting [illegible] minutes, on a [illegible] [illegible], on a fishing port, on a factory, on many things. I have had many difficulties because of the characteristics of my job. For example, you get to a place and you explain what you want to do and they always pull you aside and tell you: "No, I cannot receive you now. The fact is that I am not looking for plan target compliance figures, nor for production figures. I am simply trying to find out how these people do their [illegible]. Sometimes I [illegible] to return from the province without having been able to do anything. I have not even been able to get the party to expedite my function. This is a constant thing. And it affects our work because you plan and [illegible] [illegible] you make phone calls from here and when you get there, they do not receive you. Or, we do not have the proper standing as newsmen to get there and to persuade people to help us in our work because our work definitely depends on the people. In some cases, they did make our work easier so as not to make any trouble. For example, I have just come back from Pinar del Rio and things were absolutely wonderful there. The party [illegible] [illegible], everything was properly planned, and when I got to [illegible] places, they were already waiting for me.

[illegible] one of the difficulties we are encountering is this: you come with your own prepared plan because you know what is of interest but when you get there, they try to change your plan. They try to run your work for you and to take you to those places which they want you to talk about. That [illegible] us very much.

I [illegible] now been working in radio for 3 years. I started out with much [illegible], I tried to do many things, but, little by little, the pace of my work has been getting slower because of all of the difficulties I have been encountering. This means that I cannot give all that is within me."

[illegible]

While the "Mail Call" section was not critical in nature, I did not have any problems in getting information from the organizations, but when [illegible] began a systematic criticism program, the government organizations began to refuse to cooperate in the administrative sector, in enterprise management, and they even applies to government officials in the various [illegible].

Undoubtedly, nobody likes to be criticized in the press. You have to maintain a very strong spirit of self-criticism to accept criticism. In spite of the fact that everybody approved the thesis on criticism and the First Party Congress, this criticism is rejected in practice in some sectors. They do not provide data, they delay reports, and we even have knowledge of cases where some agencies issued instructions to some offices to the effect that they should not allow newsmen to enter without

authorization from the top management of the agency or the enterprise. They not only keep news from us but sometimes they even take repressive measures against workers who reported certain things."

[illegible]

"I believe that the main problem, on the outside, which I and almost all other comrades encountered, is lack of understanding of what our profession is all about. People underestimate the newspaperman. They look upon him a little bit like some kind of gossip-monger, or 'chivloper' who goes after information sources. Suppose we go to a harvest meeting and a high official tells you: 'Well, look here, the press has arrived; I believe we should not release any data because those are newspapermen over there.'

"I believe that the party at the grass-roots level, in the enterprises, in the factories, in the establishments, is the first who should promote the work of the press so that it will be really analytical and objective. In other words, when you get to a certain place, you have certain guidelines from the party on fundamental problems because, generally, you are going to a factory and everybody talks to you about how good things are. If we were to be guided by what everybody tells us, there would be no problem in any of the factories in Cuba.

"In journalism, we say very clearly that everybody agrees with criticism, so long as he is not the one who is criticized. Unfortunately, when you express some criticism, you are either not understood or they do not debate issue in constructive terms.

"On the other hand, we are not sufficiently prepared for this period of criticism. We have become stuck in this situation over a long period of time. We simply do not know how to develop the acumen that enables us to see the truth where the main problem resides . . . . This lack of preparation may lead to a situation where, at a certain moment, criticism might be distorted and the newspaperman might appear as a sniper.

"There are also such things as self-limitation and self-censorship. If you propose to do a certain job and if they do not help you, then you cannot give your all in order to make the greatest possible contribution

"The punch in the snout which appeared in BOHEMIA, really got to many of the company managers (See JPRS 74199, 18 Sep 79, pp 79-88, LA #2044). Often you get to a factory and you cannot move around and you cannot be on your own to inspect the factory by yourself.

"Sometimes you go to see an official and he will tell you that he cannot give you the information because he has instructions from higher headquarters not to do so. And I do not understand how a regulation issued by a government agency can be above party directives and above all the

resolution of the Tenth Congress which expresses the supreme will of society."

Bonaus Lenz:

"It gets very difficult to go after real information because the agencies of the Central State Administration and, from there on down, greatly restrict the supply of information to newsmen. The result was that self-censorship has been spreading among many of our fellow newsmen. Let me give you an example: suppose you want to do an article on salt because there are problems with that product, it somehow does not wind up in the shops, and people get irritated. So you go to the Ministry of Mining and you ask the agency's public relations official what is happening with all the salt and that comrade will tell you that this is something he cannot say anything about because it is a strategic problem, covered by government security regulations, or it happens to be a political problem which involves informing the population about some things that are going on in the salt mines. Here is the result: you go away without the information although it is of interest to the population because salt has vanished or because the people are getting very low-grade salt. But what happens is that sometimes we do not even get that far. Since we are mentally accustomed to not getting answers, we begin to think: Oh, this is a government matter, of course there are political problems, certainly they are not going to give me the information—so I will not even go looking for it.

"Many of us start with the prejudice that they are going to turn us down anyway and then we do not even try to get the information. This attitude did not spring up overnight; it is the result of many years when they would not give you information, when they kept you from the news, when they told you that these were strategic things, that you should not even ask about them, and that it would all come out in the activity report for the year. All of these explanations and justifications were designed not to supply you with information and they conditioned the mentality of many of our newsmen along these lines. There is undoubtedly a lack of understanding of the role of the press among some managers independently of the fact that, from the theoretical viewpoint, they may tell you that the press is very important, that it is the Fourth Estate, perhaps even the Fifth, but in real life they tell you: yes, the press is very good but we cannot published that.

"Regarding criticism, we have begun to undertake some efforts in recent years but it was all a lot of hard work. Every line, every word expressing criticism in a periodical or in a magazine in turn triggers meetings, complaints, annoyance, and if it involves an entire agency, the whole thing gets even worse. For example, some time ago we did a study on the individuals who steal Chevrolets and that created serious problems with the Ministry of Transportation. They refused to give us any information for more than a year.

[illegible]

"And when it comes to anecdotes, I could talk to you for hours. We have to seek the solution to these difficulties in order to engage in critical, militant, and creative journalism, as the watchword of the Congress said. We have been getting accustomed to these situations and perhaps we are not prepared for a period of open, critical, analytic, and in-depth journalism. There are fellow newsmen who, as a result of this entire situation, are becoming defenders of the administration, they become just a cog in this entire machinery and they justify all shortcomings."

Andres Rodriguez:

"I have been with the sugar industry for seven years and there has really been some difficulties of various kinds. There are some of our cadres, even party cadres, who, as Raul said, understand when others are criticized but not when they are criticized. We have not been engaging in any criticism for 3 years now. That would have been a blunder in a sector which is as important to the country as this one. If you criticize without a social foundation, your position becomes vulnerable. During the first 2 or 3 years, I was apologetic in my stories. I cannot say that this made me exactly happy for a year and some months, I tried to express some criticisms but they produced no results, at that time there was no understanding as to the proper role of the press. We began to work out the criterion on some important topics in the sector--such as out in the fields, in the processing plants, in research--starting with the 1st or 4th year, when the conditions existing today however did not yet prevail. BOHEMIA gave me a page to write during those past 2 or 3 years each week on the harvest and that enabled me to come up with a style. Here we covered all of the harvest activities in the broadest sense, in the sense of stressing those aspects which harmed the efficiency of the harvest and its development. And we began to outline the criteria, we developed the style of going into the interior, of visiting the townships, the sugar mills, the enterprises, walking along the fields, the embankments, and the furrows. That added up to a style as to how to view these activities, although this was not easy either.

"For the first 2 or 3 years I am talking to you about how we tried to get into the sector. I spent 3 months without writing a single line. The magazine's management was very understanding. We were getting to know the sector, the way it works, because without that, you cannot do a proper job. I went to a sugar mill with one of our chief engineers, who is now dead, and we studied a sugar mill inside and outside, we looked into the various complexities, because a sugar mill is like a big jungle with big traps. I spent several days in a mill to study the process from the moment the sugar cane comes in through the scale until it comes out at the other end. I studied the process from the technical viewpoint. That was the first step. Then I tried to get to know the people in this sector, the managers and the supervisors; I studied their activities, the activities of the labor unions, and the inspections that were conducted, the meetings, the seminars, and I became familiar with things like that.

the people saw me and they realized that this was not a thorough physical examination. I believe that this enabled me to gain the confidence of the supervisory personnel whom we criticize today.

"The work of the press on the matter of the harvest was for many years—and that is my own very personal opinion—highly superficial, a narrow approach; you go there but you always see the same thing. They show you the team that reached first place, second place, the team that reached the million-ton mark, the character who pulled 20,000 arrobas of sugar cane whereas the norm was only eight. We did some bad things and the press nevertheless reported them as doing positive because that character, who pulled 20,000 even though the norm was only 6,000—well, that sort of thing upsets the entire harvest accounting system. I wanted to pursue a new tack and I was told: here is a team which has already achieved its 4th million and which we have visited before; at best, you would find those fellows chopping away in the field, instead of cutting cane; they were just chopping away, in other words, there were just lots of stumps around; the loss was tremendous, but they did hit the million-ton mark, with 1 million, 2 millions, 3 millions; but they also left 1 million lying around in the field. And that is what we had to report.

"Now—as we began to tighten things up in the section, as we began 2 years ago to stop pulling our punches and to say it how it was, the problems began to come up. We always started with one basic principle: we are going to say things the way they are. I went to Ciego, for example, and I studied the mill there, based on what we call an 'information guide sheet.' That helps you in covering the mill with a kind of x-ray; you find things out quickly that way. Although the factory management might be trying to keep me from finding out what the mill is really doing; the management tried to keep me from discovering whether it is telling me lies or the truth, whether I am getting part truth and part lies, whether there is any funny business going on or not. That method enabled us to question the managers and their technicians and supervisors during the meetings we held and we were then able to show that in the particular section in BOHEMIA. We visited a certain enterprise and we found out that it is having a certain problem, or that it is doing certain things well; we never expressed criticism only; that sort of thing has to be stopped. Perhaps our style was a little bit caustic. There were people who complained. But I am ready to report things as I see them."

Renato Recio:

"The newspaperman needs certain material conditions to increase his productivity; it is not the same thing to be an apologetic newsman as it is to be a newsman who has certain criteria. An apologetic newsman goes out in the morning, he asks a manager three questions, the manager answers them—he knows the answers by memory, moreover—and the newsman writes them down and in 2 or 3 hours he gets enough material for a report and so he can handle three or four stories per day. Now, a newsman who analyzes,

who tries to report things the way they really are, who even seeks a solution to the problems detected, that newsman takes several days for just one story and he has to go from one place to the next, he has to make inquiries here and there and everywhere else. I often faced the discrepancy between doing a certain amount of work to fill the newspaper space they assigned me on the page or to take much more time to do a thorough and in-depth report; and then I have to drop my project to do what the paper wants me to do because we are understaffed and not everybody is suitable for this kind of work. This is why, in summary, I believe that there are two problems that prevent me from doing my best: on the one hand, the lack of newsmen at the magazine where I work and, on the other hand, the transportation problem. Here we only have one car for all of the newsmen."

Martinez Pirez:

"The material difficulties spring from our general poverty. The fundamental thing here is the transportation problem. Newsmen very often are prevented from looking into an activity because they do not have the necessary transportation and because the paper or magazine they work for does not have any transportation either. To that I have to add the inadequacies of mass transportation in Cuba. It is impossible to go out into the streets and to cover a certain activity in a few minutes because the bus simply does not come and you cannot get a taxi. This is why I believe that this is a serious and objective limitation which we have encountered, we newsmen, over the past several years, in trying to do our work. I also believe that we have to make a more precise selection of cars so that newsmen will have a better chance of getting their own transportation."

Alexis Schlachter:

"As far as the material difficulties are concerned, they certain do exist: there is a shortage of pens, typewriters, etc. There should be a store, such as they have it in any big city in the USSR, which carries specialized items for newsmen. Newsmen need certain items in the same way that soccer players need their equipment and they have to go to a special store to get those articles. Now, I understand Cuba's underdevelopment problems very well and I am convinced that these things will be straightened out in time. What we should now try to analyze is the priority problem of means of transportation which constitute an instrument of work that considerably increases our productivity."

Pedro Martinez Pirez:

"The Cuban press has not been up to the level of the revolution. This is a personal opinion but has also been expressed by Fidel Castro during the first regular session of the National Assembly of People's Government of 1979. Not only the press but some other things do not function the way

the way they should have functioned during these years and, well, the press is also responsible for the shortcomings we have today.

"Now I believe that we have to be fair in our statements. The whole press --and I include myself in it--throughout 13 years has tried to defend the revolutionary process against the enemies. Cuba is a country which is in the frontline trench of the fight against imperialism not only because of its geographic location but also because of the role which it has come to play in this hemisphere and not in this hemisphere alone. This explains why the press in general and the newspapers in particular have been adopting a style of last-ditch defense of the revolution and why they reported only the achievements and not the shortcomings.

"The material limitations and the fact that competition has failed to play a certain role, led to a certain accommodation in information, to the loss of agility, amenity, freshness, and speed which is a most important factor in the information field.

"On the other hand you have to remember what we had before: a press full of corruption, venality, and mediocrity. The revolution tried to change things here. The important thing was to abandon a whole series of standards and false principles which have guided the press during the capitalist stage. Here I believe we have just been stumbling along. To fight against sensationalism, the yellow press, etc., we thought that we should not throw journalistic barbs. In denying the old vices of the capitalist press, we did not manage to develop, as a new basis, some principles which, I think, are valid for the press in general.

"All of this in practice brought us to a situation of self-censorship, accommodation, and self-complacency. It caused us unconsciously to hide many of our shortcomings and it sometimes made us use a style and a language that were completely apologetic. To a great extent we just used slogans and watchwords, separating these watchwords from their real meaning. In summary, one can come up with many justifications but this is not the time for justifications; this is the time for corrections. The press must really forge ahead in order to be able to be up to the level of the revolution at this moment, which involves a great deal of international complexity, where we are facing a sophisticated effort on the part of the imperialist media, where we are facing a campaign of ideological subversions, which is not a clumsy campaign but which is conducted on a scientific basis, in an effort to penetrate Cuba's society and to try to damage and cause obstruction on the road of the revolution."

Susana Lee:

"Well, right now, I would say no. If you go out and you conduct some inquiries on what the people would like the newspapers to publish, they might tell you four things that would be quite rude but they will also tell you ten things that they would like to see in the press but that they

...topic do not find them. I am telling you this because I have said on wherever I thought I should. In the international field, there are things going on which the people learn through foreign broadcasts. What good would there be for that sort of thing if they are going to find out anyway that United States senators came to discuss some sort of problem; they held meetings and they left and all of that is reported on the short-wave radio. At best, somebody will tell you this out in the street and now will they say "No, nobody came to see us here." You start arguing because you think he is just joking but then it turns out to be the truth. The journalist thinks that he is a kind of superinformed person but will manages to look ridiculous on such occasions. I must emphasize, I believe that, in the field of information, we must move to the offensive; it is true that Cuba is a fortress under siege but we will get our story told, with the truth in hand. Why not come out with our version before the other version comes out?

"For example, look at this entire matter of the Cuban community: when those people came here, they created lots of problems, with their bedazzlement, with the oodles of things they brought, but nothing came of it in the end.

"People will tell you that journalism is in bad shape, that there is a lack of information, in terms of what people want to read. Some topics indeed are very tough to understand, such as, for example, the economic topics, which we take up in JUVENTUD REBELDE. We have to make a protentious effort to achieve a better format. So long as we do not reach the population with important issues, such as those having to do with the economy, we will not be able to feel satisfied with our work. I believe, for example, that we have been incapable of properly covering the new Economic Management and Planning System established 3 years ago. We have not been able to work out the mechanisms and the formats, the proper language, so that the people, through us, may become more committed, may become more interested in the implementation of economic accountability."

Andres Rodriguez:

"All you have to do is pick out some stock phrases such as 'was fulfilled,' 'was overfulfilled,' 'was obtained,' 'was achieved.' Where are all the other things? Our press as a whole, radio, printed, televised, has not helped us in resolving those shortcomings. We even have had incredible self-censorship. And there is also censorship by people who do not understand that the role of the press is to analyze all issues, the good ones and the bad ones. Our press is victory-oriented; we are experts in successes.

"The Cuban press is beginning timidly to play its role in the construction of socialism. Some have begun to do so. On the other hand, they are afraid of being criticized as usurers. Other organs are beginning to do that. BOHEMIA is a timid vanguard because, in the land of the blind, the man with one eye is king; we are just a bunch of one-eyed people--nothing

more. But the press did achieve one thing: it reported the effort made by the masses during all these years. It also reported the undertakings of the revolutionary process in health, education, the economy, etc.

"On the other hand I believe that our reporters are entirely too respectful. They are timid reporters who are always asking what the official line is. They are very respectful toward those they interview and they do not provoke anybody. I do not know why you have to be so respectful and why you have to wait for the interviewee to take the initiative.

"What I am trying to achieve is to get the interviewee to tell me what I need to know and not what he wants me to say. Very often, people will tell you what they want you to know and not what you want to find out and they even go so far as to correct the list of questions."

Jose Prado:

"I am sure that the Cuban press has not helped us in discovering our errors and shortcomings. It frequently adopted a victory-oriented view of everyday events. It frequently reported big successes which in reality were failures. I recall that, on one occasion, a leader of the revolution told me that a certain periodical had given a big play to a report stressing the fact that a stocking factory had tremendously overfulfilled its production plan; but it did not say that the quality of the stockings was extremely bad and that production cost had been almost twice the price at which the stockings were sold. In reality, that was a big failure. If they had produced less--the comrades told me--we would have come out better economically.

"It frequently happened that we talk about our mistakes and shortcomings in our press only when some of the leaders of the revolution do so. I think that, in reporting on mistakes and shortcomings, we must be very careful and we must correctly evaluate the criticisms so as not to become bogged down in superficialities or injustices or so as not to render the enemy a service. But, there is no doubt, that there is a lack of initiative on the part of our press. Besides, it turns out to be difficult to criticize when you are so vulnerable to criticism yourself.

"In recent times we have noted some progress in that direction but it is still not enough."

Alexis Schlachter:

"I believe that, over these past several years of the revolution, all of ourselves have not been keeping up with the revolution, we have not been doing what was expected of us. We were not profound in our analysis; we did not help surmount the shortcomings because, as a general line, we did not address ourselves to problems but we instead waited for the problems to create crises and only then did we talk about them. This is a very

complex problem. It is easy to talk about it now but in 1971 it was not.

Among the main faults is the lack of commitment on our part, our passive attitude toward problems, the idea of letting things go on, the idea of not getting involved, the fear of the misconception that issues or initiatives must spring from the party authorities and the idea of letting others know the guidelines and not to get all excited, in the good sense of the word, over a certain assignment. Something very nice happened to me in 1971. I suggested to the editorial board of a certain press organ that a story be written with the Ministry of the Interior about the elements that most promoted the activities of criminals, issues which the citizens themselves were raising and which allowed the criminals to perpetrate their crimes. I was told in reply that this idea had been rejected by the Ministry of the Interior and it was therefore not considered very good but if I wanted to, I could go to the MINIT [Ministry of the Interior], even though they did not think that anything would come of it, since the ministry was not geared to that sort of thing or because it would not be done or for some this was not the right time or because the idea was not good in the first place. Well, I did go to the Ministry of the Interior and here is what they told me there: 'Look, fellow, we have been waiting for some reason to tell us that some time ago because the truth is that we had some ideas and we did not know how to express them through the press.' In a word, in the eighteenth of February 1971, a story came out entitled 'How the Criminals Operate.' The article provided guidelines for the population in graphic form as to the most current errors among the population that allowed the criminals to do their misdeeds. That showed me that, for most of us, there is a catch here: if we get no guidance from the MINIT, if we get no guidance from the party, then we think, there has to be some reason for that. This simple statement--'There has to be some reason for that'--is the thing that sometimes prevents us from doing something specific, not the fact that we happened to have a bad idea.

I believe that the articles in BOHEMIA ECONOMICA are very good. The followup, which is giving the news, is very interesting. This has become a general policy in our field. If you go to a place and you criticize, then you have to go back to that place 6 months later. You have to go back.

Besides, these are burning problems, for example, involving the case of Yara. A story by Comrade Pozo. For the first time, we newsmen have stated that, in addition to its economic importance, there are serious problems which are going to prevent the working population from taking roots. And we said things which helped transform the region. Then we are going to have a continuation of that story in which we will analyze the answers given to the statements and proposals. This is a serious effort of journalism; it is not enough to criticize; you have to follow up on the response; this is intended to give the people the idea that there is a positive response to the work of the newsmen.

"Another important thing is the news alert section. There are many things that have created crises and that we must look into. In other words, talking about truth, saying that people lie, and what they lied of. We do not go into the alert phase to avoid problems that have to be taken up. GACETA ECONOMICA is beginning to do something about that."

Gladis Perez:

"I believe that we are not doing the job we should be doing in a socialist society; we are failing to tell it as it is, sometimes out of fear. It seems to me that newsmen are afraid of reporting on some things because they believe that they should not be said but the fact is that they are failing to say things that are important to the people.

"The press by the way is not just news, it does not merely involve saying that somebody or other has arrived, that he was received at the airport, and so forth. The field of the press is very broad and there are things in human events in Cuba which we are not touching on. The people are here, their work is here for us to see, but we are not telling anything about that. We are doing a few things along these lines but we do not want to be radical about it; I think that to a great extent we are not doing what we should be doing. We do not like reading about the problems of crime, love-murders, and so on, but we do like to read about a worker doing important things, a man whom nobody knows. We like to report, for example, on the work of a mountain woman who also happens to be a wonderful artisan but whom nobody knows.

"On the other hand, you have to follow up on a story, you have to continue to investigate it. I read the magazine SPUTNIK and I saw that there are newspaper stories in the USSR which have been held up for 10 years because, for example, the particular project was 10 years behind schedule in terms of the construction deadline. These are beautiful stories. That is real newspaper work, for my money. Writing the history of the work of the people.

"We are very limited. I do not know whether it is out of fear or what. Sometimes we fail to report interesting things out of fear; I do not know. There is self-censorship. But there are also people who direct us and who are afraid. For example, during the Festival, I witnessed an activity which was also attended by Fidel and I interviewed him and recorded him and on the next morning it came out in the program. Well, they called me to the front office and they told me: 'You are crazy, doing a thing like that; this has to be edited by somebody.' It was a very simple matter: Fidel had talked to the people. But they still wanted it to be edited. Well, they let nothing through. I believe that we censor ourselves needlessly and we fail to be fresh."

[redacted]

"I believe that much remains to be done. I think that we sometimes over-look certain situations, either out of laziness or inability or out of fear to bring up situations which may turn out to be irritating not only to those who report them but also to those who are involved in them. I believe we must be more combative, or aggressive, and we have to be more analytical.

"I think that the press is a weak point of the revolution and I think so because, in our work, we have failed to reflect the great work of the revolution in the field of education, in the economy, in agriculture, and, even more importantly, in man himself. We single out a comrade who has achieved a certain figure in some cutting; we single out a comrade who has made inventions but we know little about whether that comrade is in love, whether that comrade is sad about something, whether that comrade is happy. I believe that we have to be more human in our work, that we have to go more in depth so we look for something more than just news because I think it was Marti who said: 'Man is more than just his outward appearance.' Man has his inner life and I believe that it is not well reflected in Cuba, nor are the achievements of the revolution correctly reflected in many aspects, for example, regarding our revolution and the younger generation.

"I believe that the Cuban press does not have all the necessary information, that our information is faulty or insufficient in some cases. And that should not happen because today we have all of the vehicles available to us which permit us to have adequate information about everything that is happening all over the world. We have the means for providing honest information, valid information, information distinct from that which other countries can offer.

"Why do we not report on the positive and negative events of our environment? Why do we not have a more combative position? Why do we conform to the official statistics that give us a figure which in some cases may be true but which nevertheless, if we pursue the matter in depth, we can find not to be not so sure after all?"

[redacted]

"I believe that we are still far from playing the role we should be playing. It seems to me that we should get out of this daily routine, the pressure of time to meet the deadline, something which by the way is inevitable in the daily press. We should get away from just reporting straight news and we should go among the people, into the factories, to the schools--because this is where the daily press leaves the reader unsatisfied. The Cuban press to a great extent ignores human problems which the people would like to see covered--and naturally I also feel that I am guilty of that.

"Many times we go for weeks what we need to tell the people. Sometimes we want to help the revenue but we do that by coming out with stories that are far from the daily interests of the people. The people would like to see stories with solutions or at least aggressive stories which attack these ills. The ills which the people suffer from daily frequently are not reflected in the press. There are some great possibilities here.

"During this new phase of constructive criticism, which is now opening up in journalism, the newsman must read much and must study the recent speeches of our top leaders because that is the way to go. The important thing is to make sure that the newsman will commit himself less, that he will commit himself only to the revolution, to the party, to Fidel. The journalist must also be aggressive without however lacking delicateness, but he must also abandon the attitude of apologetic journalism which we sometimes display. What we need is serious and courageous journalism."

Cristobal Vera:

"I believe that the press has much to do in terms of revealing shortcomings and helping to surmount them. I believe that the press also has the obligation to detect those shortcomings. The journalist must pursue his story until the very last because, when you engage in criticism, you cannot restrict yourself. You have to pursue it because if it is only going to be superficial and incomplete criticism it had better not be presented at all. Only in-depth criticism will help a government official, a manager on a certain level, to become familiar with the problem, because, although he may know about the problem, he perhaps does not realize its full magnitude. He is familiar with the problem from an administrative angle but not directly. So, there is much to be done."

Mario Mencia:

"Just as a revolution in effect is an essential breakup of structures, so I think that, since the ideological structure of prerevolutionary journalism has also been broken up and its current foundation is Marxism-Leninism,in general we are not developing our dexterity in using this instrument and we do not know how close to or how far from such skills each of our journalists happens to be!

"But, since a revolution also means innovation, creativity, and, in our specific profession, the discovery of new forms of style and communication with the masses, I think that little was done in this respect, except for some isolated cases which do not constitute the rule. But I also believe that there is something worse: I believe that we have thrown the baby out with the bath water--to paraphrase Lagnis. In other words, some publicity techniques of permanent communications value, which were used prior to the triumph of the revolution--and possibly other, more recent ones in current journalism in other countries--have been and are being driven out of our environment. In this sense, schematicism has triumph. All of this is

considered 'bourgeois technique.' And so they chuck it out. I might go along with this waste if, in eliminating it, we had replaced it with other, superior forms which enable us to catch the interest of the readers more, the people who read our newspapers most and with the greatest pleasure; but I do not believe that this is the case. It seems to me that, in general, people are not reading our product--provided they do read it at all--not because of the format (layout, headlines, color schemes).

"I believe that the main achievements are closely connected with the obviously visible changes in our children, in terms of their concept of the world, of history and current affairs, and the methodology of analyzing national and international problems, as employed by the Cuban people. The press has helped generalize and pin those pieces down.

"I realize that the main shortcomings of this effort can be detected in some major situations which are then prevented through a pattern of stereotyped information, lack of originality, unthinking apologeticism, insufficiently critical approach, deficient specialization, and omission of information."

Reinhold Rasa:

"I am proud of my press because, as a class press, the Cuban press reflects the line of the party and of the revolution. But now, from the viewpoint of our work as such, whether it is good or not, if we offer interesting material to the population, if we tackle the diversity of stories which must be covered, if we do that, then we are bound to improve. We have to seek forms and methods of reaching the masses so that our stories will indeed be assimilated by the masses."

Carlos Otero:

"I believe that one of the faults of the Cuban press is that is not universal in the sense of covering all of our territory, all of our activities. There is a little bit of polarization, much information on things that happen in the capital, an enormous amount on what happens in the provincial capitals, and very little about what happens in the little towns where they have a dairy, an agricultural plan, a peasant base, or a fishing unit. There are people who are doing wonderful things in terms of innovations but we never get to see that; or you have a lady teacher who has an excellent method in helping the slow-learning pupils but we do not tell anything about her story."

Julio Batista:

"The press has made a tremendous effort in terms of trying to correct errors. For example, the section entitled 'Mail Call' in [illegible] has continually denounced the waste of materials, the way very expensive equipment, which costs us many dollars, is cannibalized, the criminal

attitude in letting to take proper care of tractors--all of this we have seen here. But, well, what happens? Because I think that something should happen to a person who is responsible for this sort of thing. You have to implement the law, no matter how severe it may be. You cannot accept a situation in which an official manages to justify himself in a letter. They always try to emerge unscathed from a serious situation which irritates the people, the people who work. All of this equipment was purchased due to the work of the working class, due to the work of men who for many months must be separated from their families while they put cane in hand, and this is hard work. What can that worker think when he sees some of those equipment items annihilated? The press has done a good job but so far no measures have been taken to make sure that this sort of thing will not go on. Nobody should feel that he can get away with impunity. That is the role which criticism in the press displays.

"I believe that we should be more agile and that we should not wait for the enemy to give us a certain piece of news which we can provide ourselves. Very often, foreign broadcasting stations bring us the news before we can bring it, and that very often causes rumors and ramblings among those people who do not have a solid ideological foundation."

Ramon Labaina:

"It has been recommended that we pursue the way of constructive criticism through the mass communications media in order to help reveal and correct the mistakes and shortcomings but much remains to be done along these lines. Very often we have criticism but we do not observe any positive result, sometimes on the basis of justification, other times because the press itself does not follow up the particular criticism and simply forgets it.

"On the other hand, few among those who are criticized assume a self-critical position. The tendency is toward justification. This is why, when we criticize, we must see what the objective and real problems are--which do not depend on anybody's will or desire but rather on the difficulties the country is experiencing--and we must see what the subjective problems are, that is to say, those that depend on men, on a manager or a worker. This knowledge is necessary so that we may discern and seek the essence of the problem because sometimes, behind the objective problems, there are others which are not. They are concealed and they are lumped together with all of the other problems.

"I believe that the press has played an important role as organizer, mobilizer, and educator of the masses. It has reflected the events in national and international life; it has helped keep the people informed on the principal events and it has provided communications between the holders of socialism in Cuba. That role however must be developed in depth.

"I believe that it is necessary to expose our shortcomings in the various fields of activity with a serious and in-depth approach. I believe that we must really determine where our achievements are real, along with that, we must reveal our errors and we must not apologize in those cases where an apology is really not proper."

Oscar Sarredo:

"I believe that, in political-ideological terms, the Cuban press is up to the requirements of the revolutionary process, that is to say, in terms of the various campaigns, in terms of its mobilizing role, but not in the overall sense as yet. It does not really help solve the country's problems.

"I believe that our journalism has skipped rather quickly through one particular development stage. It undoubtedly did make a contribution to the revolution with its guiding and mobilizing role but it could help much more if we had an analytical press because the problem of criticism is not a matter of going after just one person but rather analyzing an entire complex of problems and modestly helping to resolve those problems. This should enable us to reconstruct experiences through an overall evaluation of good things and errors so that these experiences may help us improve our work output.

"Our Cuban journalism is an excessively cause-oriented journalism. It is not an analytical journalism which aggressively goes to the very core of things. In the essence of a group of problems besetting the country. For example, looking at the problem of discipline, we do not have to wait for Fidel to talk about it to realize that this problem exists.

"I particularly feel that we can have analytical and critical journalism, above all in the national press, where the higher party authority must play a very important role. Even by providing guidance, if the specialized departments of the party are carrying out inspections and thorough, then this can be a constant source of information which can help in the country's work. Very often we do not know whether the problems faced by a certain enterprise are objective problems or subjective problems. How can I exercise my criticism when I go to a factory where I am told that they have not been getting any raw material for 5 months? This is why I would be happy to see the establishment of the contracting system in the matter of supply because, with this system all parts are properly used. Every time you do a certain job, the supplier is responsible for everything that happens. The blame is placed on imperialism or on the outer factors. The subjective problems of our poor work, the problems of inefficiency--these simply do not exist."

Orlando Perez Betancourt:

"We have had a very passive brand of journalism; we have told all of the nice things about the revolution for many years but now what happens?

So we tried to change direction and implement criticism, everything that I've said about the role of criticism under socialism. There are many people who do not understand; mentally, they are geared to the other type of journalism, to apologetic journalism, to the kind of journalism in which everything is very nice and now they are a little bit surprised. There are officials who respond and there are others who do so with a certain reluctance because this is a new kind of journalism which we are beginning to implement. There are people who will not help you and who look upon you with fear. We should educate the officials a little bit but we also share some of the responsibility here. This is not just a matter of being a good journalist; you have to be a journalist who is very well informed on the topic you are going to take up because, if you are not, you run the risk of looking ridiculous or not helping anybody. Both parties have to display understanding and mutual assistance. You have to be tremendously revolutionary to accept criticism and journalists must be ready for hassle because sometimes somebody will tell you: if I do not criticize anybody, I am not going to get into any heated arguments and in the end, it all amounts to the same thing anyway, and this is why you restrict yourself a little bit. For example, last Red Sunday, I wrote a story which was published. I was supposed to praise this effort but I went around and I detected some flaws. Thousands of people were standing around, waiting to be picked up. In some places, I stopped to take pictures but the people told me: "No photographs, just send us the trucks to take us to work." I hesitated much about whether I should talk about these deficiencies. I did not want to take any political significance away from this effort. However, if I did not report these shortcomings, I would be betraying the people. I decided to tell it as it was. I must confess to you that I wrote this story, thinking that it would not be published--but it was printed. If you ask me where this self-limitation comes from, I will tell you that it springs from the practice of journalism which for many years did not include criticism."

New Tactics

"The journalist himself must open the doors to critical analysis and, if his criticism is fair, in-depth, and realistic, he would have some doors closed and open others. The help of the party and the specialized departments in the provinces and townships is highly valuable, as is the assistance of the market and the water directorate.

"An example of the positive effects of criticism came up in our province when we began to publish instances of failure to meet targets in the matters of discipline, statistics, norming, weights, measures, and standards, as well as quality control. The intensity of target attainment failures gradually declined. The newspaper was playing its role and it openly received information from the appropriate organizations.

"I agree that we should criticize and that we should criticize as severely as necessary--but always on the proper foundation, so that we will have

really serious criticism which will pursue the various aspects of the problem in depth and which will be entirely objective. We must also outline responsibilities, in other words, up to what point a particular aspect can be criticized and where this sort of thing has to stop. Just assume that we are criticizing a service center because it does not provide cold water; perhaps the employee expressed himself poorly; that should also be criticized: improper treatment when the time comes to report; but we should also analyze the fact as to why there is no water. We must follow this up until we get to the bottom of the problem."

Raul Leon:

"To engage in newspaper criticism, you have to have a level of specialization and a command of the sector. You cannot come out with superficial criticism. The journalist must become a specialist, he must have full mastery of his sector, and he must be familiar with the difficulties that exist and the solutions that are being provided; besides, he must also know all of the responses that are being given and he must determine whether they are correct or whether the problem is being studied. This is not just a matter of wielding a brilliant pen and sitting down at a typewriter; you have to have command of the entire problem complex which you are dealing with in order to get to the bottom of the problem.

"On the other hand, to implement criticism, the journalist must be aware of the importance of being a journalist and I believe that not all of us journalists today are aware of the importance of our jobs. Very often we think that journalism is a second-class profession in which the journalist feels somewhat small when compared to the government official. He feels that he does not have the necessary backing, nor the necessary authority, to come up with a series of criteria that may or may not be wrong. You cannot engage in criticism if you do not have criteria.

"I believe that the lack of a system in following up information is one of the flaws here. Problems are taken up in isolation; we do not always discover what the essential problems are; there is a certain superficiality in going after these problems which has an effect on a certain sector and the repercussions deriving from that. Very often we examine a problem in one sector and we describe it as being exclusive to that sector whereas in reality it has repercussions throughout the entire problem complex faced by the country.

"It is also made difficult for the journalist to point up the responsibilities when you get to certain levels of management. I believe that we must point out the errors of both the lower-level and the higher-level organizations. Another one of the flaws is that the people are not informed on all problems. When you go out into the street, you find that the people are informed; in many cases, the people are better informed than the journalist on certain problems. Sometimes we do provide information but it comes too late and if we do present the problem, we do

no role after many months have passed and while somebody is already working on a solution, that is when we suddenly start talking about the problem.

"It seems to me that a dialogue with government officials is important. Very often, the responses that are drafted on the basis of a previously prepared questionnaire do not give the newsman enough time to work out the followup question to the response given by the official. This is a difficult thing to do because we have a rather bad custom here, the custom of conducting our interviews through sheets of paper and written questionnaires to which we then do not get any answers. The important thing is to get both the officials and the journalists to understand the importance of a live, direct interview where you can establish a dialogue between the journalist and the government official."

Orlando Castellanos:

"An interview is good or bad depending on what the interviewee says, but there is also one detail and that is: the journalist's question is much. If you give me a tape recorder and if you tell me to express my opinions, well, I will do so and that is that. But if you ask me a series of specific questions, I find myself obligated to respond. The content of those responses is difficult to express in a written text, if it were not for the action of the journalist, because managers have much other work to do. They know that this is very important, that they have to speak out, but they cannot write it down. That is the role of the journalist: to ask specific questions which will enable the manager to clarify things and the journalist must ask questions which will motivate the manager to reply. This is not just any old questionnaire; if you ask the interviewee four stupid questions, you will never have an interview or he will be beating about the bush. Therefore it is true that the most important thing is who provides the answers and what he answers. But another important thing is who asks the questions and what questions he asks."

3. Difficulties on the Job

With respect to the questions dealing with the difficulties and limitations encountered by the journalist in the exercise of his profession, almost all of those interviewed stated that the main difficulty resides in getting information needed in order to do a proper and in-depth story. Some of the journalists pointed out that this is due to the delay in the supply of information; others mentioned the buck-passing from bureau to bureau, to the extreme where some people simply refuse to provide information, with the excuse that these are confidential data or state secrets. All of this becomes worse whenever the journalist gets into the field of politics.

For the majority of those who expressed their opinions along these lines, this attitude on the part of information sources is related to a mistaken concept of the role of the newsman; he is used more as an interloper, a gossip, or a simple "sounding board," using the words used by one of our

interviewees who, as a revolutionary militant, has an important role to play in the ideological field, helping in the struggle to resolve shortcomings in the construction of socialism and, to the extent possible, alerting us in time to prevent that situation from causing a crisis. A certain number of our interviewees maintained that, partly as a result of the circumstances pointed out, and partly during earlier phases, a process of self-censorship has developed in many journalists. They also mentioned insufficient technical and cultural training as another difficulty in the pursuit of their profession. Earlier, some of our interviewees expressed their opinions and told us of their practical experiences.

But we not only know the difficulties mentioned; there are also serious material limitations in achieving more efficient exercise of this profession. The vast majority of our journalists mentioned the lack of transportation as the most severely felt problem. They also brought up the lack of sufficient technical equipment, such as tape recorders, cassettes, typewriters, pens, etc. These material limitations, according to the comrades interviewed, constitute a part of the overall problem of underdevelopment. However, some suggested that, within these limitations, we might perhaps have a better distribution of these scarce articles. They emphasized that they made these statements not by way of raising demands but to achieve greater efficiency in their work.

2. Opinions on the Press

What do the interviewees think about the press in Cuba. This is the purpose behind the questions dealing with whether the press helps or does not help in disclosing and surmounting the shortcomings existing in Cuban society and whether or not it is up to the level of the revolutionary process. The most widespread opinion is that it is not up to the level of the revolution, that it reveals a series of shortcomings that must be surmounted: excessively success-oriented and apology-oriented approach; little agility and attraction; deficient information going so far as to omission of information; lack of originality, in-depth coverage, and initiative; insufficiently critical approach and lack of revolutionary boldness. However, most of these comrades did not fail to admit that the press has played an important role in the ideological training of the people and has helped in its mobilization in support of the tasks listed by the revolution. On the other hand, they pointed out that this has signified a turn away from the sensationalism and yellow journalism of the capitalist press although here again the press forgot that there are certain general principles or laws of the press which must not be ignored.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

[illegible] could come up with many justifications but this is not the time for justifications; this is the time for corrections. The press must really forge ahead in order to be up to the level of the revolution at

this moment which is a moment of tremendous international complexity, where we are facing a sophisticated effort by the imperialist media, where we are facing a campaign of ideological subversion, a campaign which is not a military campaign but which is carried out on a scientific basis in an effort to try to penetrate Cuban society and damage and obstruct the road of the revolution" (Pedro Martinez Pirez, "Radio Habana Cuba").

(p 59, top) "I believe that the press has played an important role as organizer, mobilizer, and educator of the masses; it has reflected the events in national and international life and it has contributed to the information of the people about the principal events. At the same time I believe that we must develop the role which it has played further in depth" (Ramon Lobaina, periodical ABORA).

(p 59, bottom) "Our reporter is excessively respectful. He is a timid reporter who is always asking what the official line is. He is very respectful toward those he interviews; he does not provoke anybody" (Andres Rodriguez, BOHEMIA).

(p 60) "They not only kept information from us, at times they took repressive measures against workers who denounced certain things" (Reinold Rasot, GRANMA).

(p 61, top) "On the international scene, things are happening which the people are learning through foreign broadcasts. What need is there for that if you are going to find out about it anyway? I believe that the information sector must go on the offensive" (Susana Lee, [illegible] BOHEMIA).

(p 61, bottom) "There are many things which created a crisis here and --so we say--we have to take the veil, that is to say, who died and what he died from. Why do we not go into the alert phase so that the problems which we are now struggling with, may be avoided?" (Alexis Schlachter, "Radio Rebelde").

(p 62) "Problems come up in economic information; you find yourself facing the paradox that something which is secret on the enterprise level is widely disseminated on the ministry level" (Rebeca Antumer, TRABAJADORES).

(p 63, top) "There is a lack of spontaniety, of ingenuity, of initiative, of newspaper 'sparkle,' of revolutionary boldness. We have become accustomed to reflecting our national reality by covering events and meetings or through the passive use of notes or reports" (Samuel Orta, "Radio Rebelde").

(p 63, bottom) "There is much information on events in the capital, there is another large volume of information on what happens in the provincial capitals but there is very little about what happens in the little towns" (Carlos Otero, TV).

(p 64) "The journalist is being underestimated; he is being looked upon a little bit like a gossip, an interloper, by the information sources. Let us say, you go to a harvest meeting and an official tells you: 'Well, look here, the press has come; I believe that we should not release any statistics because those are newsmen'" (Lazaro Barredo, JUVENTUD REBELDE).

(P 65, top) "The capacity of the journalist is often being underestimated in terms of being able to discern those aspects which really deserve discreet treatment, where you have to be careful in handling figures and concepts. Although he may not publish the data, he does need them for background to prepare his story" (Raul Lazo, BOHEMIA).

(p 65, bottom) "I am convinced that the Cuban press did not help in disclosing our errors and deficiencies. Frequently, we have had an excessively success-oriented approach to our daily affairs" (Jose Prado, "Radio Habana Cuba").

Let us fully respond to our socialist revolution and let us hold an important post in the education and ideological indoctrination of the people. Achievements of the press: active performance in the function of providing ideological and political education for our people, plus mobilizing the masses toward the accomplishment of the fundamental objectives of the revolution. However, the effort is not yet sufficiently critical and analytical, as required by the current moment in the construction of socialism (Marta Gomez, periodical LA DEMAJAGUA).

"The journalist must open the doors to critical analysis and, to the extent that his criticism is fair, in-depth, and realistic, he may leave some doors closed and open others" (Raul Castillo, VANGUARDIA, Santa Clara).

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] MIDNIGHT REVOLUTIONARY VIGILANCE WATCH PROBLEMS AIRED

[illegible]

[Article by Lesmora]

[Text] The fact that the second watch of the Revolutionary Popular Guard is having problems carrying out its tasks has prompted an examination of that situation, analysis of the determining factors involved in the development of the situation and also a search for correct methods immediately applicable to combat the problems and lift this historic task of the CDR [Committee for the Defense of the Revolution] rank and file to the same level of supreme achievement as that prevailing in the largest island of the Antilles.

Among the deficiencies cited during the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee is the problem of the second watch of the Popular Guard of the Defense Committees. The CDRs responded quickly to the party's call, and the commitment of millions of CDRists in the Revolutionary Popular Guard is to attend the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party having overcome this deficiency.

From the CDR National Directorate down to its rank and file, there has been discussion and analysis of the position paper issued by the National Executive Secretariat which deals with the commitment to overcome all deficiencies and raise the awareness of everyone to the need for vigilance in the performance of CDR tasks as a response to the call made during the Eighth Plenum of the party's Central Committee.

One example of the action which the CDRists took immediately was the effort exerted by the municipality of Bayamo, Granma Province, with the implementation of the "Special CDR-PNR [National Revolutionary Police] Plan to Combat Crime" issued by Granma Province in which the Office of the Attorney General and the court system are participating.

This position paper covers all activities related to the specific task of the Revolutionary Popular Guard: crime prevention and deterrence.

The most noteworthy aspects of these anti-crime activities are: the holding of methodology seminars for CDRists, who perform duties as popular guards, in the zonal operational centers; visits by heads of PNR sectors to CDR zones during the performance of guard duties; presentation of seminars by the PNR with Social Work activists to give the guards technical instructions about the tasks to be performed; coordination with the presidents of municipal courts and public prosecutors' offices so that they can offer their cooperation in the seminars for social workers; monthly meetings between the PNR and CDRists down to the zonal and sectional levels; issuance of the "My Guard Control Card"; preparation and issuance of a public allegorical call to the Revolutionary Popular Guard for analysis and study in CDR zones; holding of vigilance hearings, as well as the giving of talks and presenting of conferences in the CDR and zones which require them because of the operational situation they present; and repudiation ceremonies in those places where a crime has been committed or prevented, etc.

In addition to implementation of this plan, the Popular Guard commitment roster has been updated with the result that there are 11,920 members pledged to CDR vigilance in that municipality.

The municipality of Bayamo now has a 91 percent goal-completion record for the first watch and 99 percent for the second watch of the Revolutionary Popular Guard. Its 122 zones have received a rating of 15 for category A; 9 for category B; and 99 for category C. It should be pointed out that all zones classified in category A are in the urban sector. This means that the greatest incidence of criminal acts is in the urban zones.

Opinions

We selected a group of CDRists from the Enrique Lopez CDR No 7 in Zone 12, to give their opinions on the performance of the Revolutionary Popular Guard, basically on the second watch.

Teresita Brizuela: "I think that the strength of the CDR's work is very closely related to the joint effort being exerted with the PNR. I feel that it is very worthwhile to receive the advice they give us on specific situations which may arise during the fight against crime. One other thing: I feel that it is the individual's responsibility to meet the goals of the second watch and that a comrade who has this watch should go to bed early so that he will be ready to report at 0200 hours, as is his duty, and not remain home asleep, without evaluating what his action may mean to the whole community in which he lives."

Maria Acosta: "I feel that the Central Committee's call is very proper, as there are zones in which the CDR guard is not meeting its goals as it should, independently of the fact that our zone is doing the job as both entities."

[illegible] Gonzalez: "As a matter of fact, we, as part of the rank and file, had observed the low rate of goal attainment by the second watch, upon which we commented to other comrades from different zones. I consider the alert issued by our party to be right on the mark, as is the response made by our superior organizations, to which we are ready to give our wholehearted effort."

Zaida Avila: "As an organizer of our CDR, I must say that we have continuing concern and maintain vigilance over the guard's performance. It is not only the comrade from the Executive Secretariat who attends to the vigilance activities and is responsible for them; rather, all of us cooperate to maintain this performance consciousness."

9143
CSO: 4010

[illegible] EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STRUCTURE. MISSION EXPLAINED

[illegible] LA GUARDIA EN ALTO in Spanish Jul-Aug '9 pp 62-65

[Text] Presentation

The present text assembles various aspects of primary importance for the [illegible] efficient work of the normal executive secretariat, and the duties to be performed in that organization are described in this manner.

This document, because of its importance, should be studied and commented constantly by every member of the normal executive secretariat and, because of its content, should serve as a guide which will permit every person to know his duties and will define his responsibilities, without forgetting, as the document so aptly puts it, that collective work should be the concern of everybody.

In accordance with the bylaws of the organization, the document sets forth the objectives to be attained by the executive secretariat through its direction, as well as the present structure of this organization; and the utilization of activists to perform the tasks of the entity is also specified as a necessary requirement.

The present document sets forth the responsibilities incumbent individually on each member of the executive secretariat. At the end of the document, there is a prototypal organization chart which a zone may have, including activists and their functions.

Introduction

In the regulation on "Functioning of the Intermediate Directive Organizations and the National Directorate," the following statements appear:

"The executive secretariat is the management organism responsible for operational functioning at its level and is charged with direct and systematic attention for the organs of its lower level."

Zone

CDR-FAR ACTIVIST

Directorate

Executive Secretariat

Coordinator

Vice Coordinator

Member of the Executive Secretariat (Organization)	Member of the Executive Secretariat (Ideological Work and Education)	Member of the Executive Secretariat (Vigilance)	Member of the Executive Secretariat (Public Health, Social Work, Voluntary Work, and Savings)
Dues Activist	Discussion Leader Activist	Guard Activist	Public Health Activist
Minutes Activist	Education Activist	Popular Revolutionary Activist	Social Work Activist
Membership and Information Control Activist	Agitation and Propaganda Committee	Addressees and ID Card Registry Activist	Voluntary Work Activist
Emulation Activist	History Activist		Savings Activist
	Parents Popular School Activist		
	Culture, Sports and Recreation Activist		

Note: There will be activists in the zone capable of doing such jobs. Such zone will adapt the organizational chart to meet its own situation.

"The executive secretariat is subordinate and answers for its work to the directorate of the organization and to the organization's superior entities."

For this reason, its functioning is of special importance and should be characterized by quality and efficiency. To the degree that members of the executive secretariat suitably perform their duties, the quality and quantity of tasks performed with efficiency will be superior.

As provided by Article 13 of the bylaws, the executive secretariat is responsible for:

a. Preparing work plans and proposing them to the directorate of its organization.

b. Directing, executing and controlling plans, agreements, directives and orders issued by its directorate and other superior organisms and organizations.

c. Representing the organization before the party, state organizations, the CTC [Union of Young Communists] and other rank-and-file and social organizations at its level.

d. Convening and organizing meetings appropriate to its directorate.

e. Informing and reporting on the execution of plans and activities to its respective directorate and to superior organizations.

f. Analyzing the development of emulation and bringing the report of the final results to the attention of its directorate.

g. The executive secretariats of provinces and municipalities will meet regularly once every 15 days, zonal secretariats once a month. Extraordinary meetings will be held as often as necessary.

The enumerated activities are carried out by an executive secretariat made up as follows:

--Coordinator;
--Vice coordinator;
--Member of the executive secretariat (responsible for organization);
--Member of the executive secretariat (responsible for ideological work and education);
--Member of the executive secretariat (responsible for vigilance);
--Member of the executive secretariat (responsible for public health, social work, voluntary work and savings).

The executive secretariat is the highest organization between meetings of the directorate. Activists should be selected basically from among members of the directorate, in relationship to the number of activities, provided the work they do is not in replacement of the duties and responsibilities of the secretaries and provided their activity serves to support offices of secretaries requiring it.

The new organizational structure adopted by the zonal organization has brought about a reduction in the executive secretariat from 10 members to 9; and it is precisely the correct selection and utilization of activists which makes it possible for such a reduction not to impact adversely upon work. On the contrary, work is fortified because it reposes on activism for greater efficiency.

The importance of the activists' work requires that they be selected by the executive secretariat, having a care to appoint to the position of activists such comrades who may be useful to the work of the organization.

For these reasons, at the end of the present document there is a prototypal organizational chart appropriate for a zone, including activists, which will serve as a guide, logically with adaptations in accordance with the zone's own situation.

We will now move on to the duties and responsibilities of each member of the executive secretariat of the zone.

Coordinator

--The zonal coordinator is the top representative of the organization and should instruct the other members of the executive secretariat in how to comply with the guidelines issued by the directorate of this organization and the superior organizations of the secretariat.

--He relies upon the vice coordinator as the second in command of the organization for all the work of the zone, independently of the specific tasks appertaining to the self-same vice coordinator.

--The coordinator should keep an eye on the functioning of the executive secretariat and insure that every secretary, as he performs his own work with efficiency, concerns himself with and, when necessary, offers assistance to the other secretaries, seeing to it that the individual responsibility of each secretary meshes with the collective work of the executive secretariat.

--He strives to insure execution of the work plans of the organization, as well as the tasks and activities issued by his immediately superior organization.

--He ensures that the secretaries attend meetings called by the municipality.

--He develops suitable methods to permit the executive secretary to orient and correctly and systematically check on the CDRs Committees for the Defense of the Revolution] entrusted to the zone.

--He gives special attention to promotion of cooperation in all CDRs in the zone and in the organization in relation to others of equal organizational standing.

--He controls and checks on preparation of the reports which should be submitted periodically to the municipality, ensuring that the information from all the CDRs and from the zone itself is correct and objective.

--He ensures the rigorous application of the organization's by-laws and the appropriate regulations.

--He gives special attention to the content and quality which should characterize the meeting of the directorate and executive secretariat, as important factors for the attainment of greater efficiency in the work of the zone.

--He works to ensure the participation of CDR members in the tasks of local organizations of the people's government, including the election process and rendering of accounts assemblies.

--He develops to the maximum the full exercise of democratic centralism within the executive secretariat and the directorate.

--He acts together with all the secretaries to continuously strengthen the factor of unity, both in the executive secretariat and in the directorate.

--He sees to it that the methods used by the secretaries are those of persuasion and education, of reasoning, explaining and convincing.

--He conducts meetings of the executive secretariat and the directorate, whose minutes will be signed by him and by the member of the executive secretariat responsible for the zonal organization.

--He gives special attention to the efficient utilization of activists, ensuring suitable methods of the executive secretariat for their orientation, control and checking, as these are valuable instruments for the attainment of quality and efficiency in the zone's work.

Vice Coordinator

--The vice coordinator of the zone is the second in command of the executive secretariat, in order of rank, and assists the coordinator in directing the work of the organization.

—In the absence of the coordinator, to conducts meetings of the executive secretariat or directorate, in such cases signing the minutes in place of the coordinator.

—To controls the funds of the zone and systematically reports at meetings of the executive secretariat and directorate on the state of finances. To checks on the performance of similar tasks of the CDRs in the zone.

—At the request of the coordinator, to assists in the activity or task of any other member of the executive secretariat.

—To attends to activities relating to the election process and rendering of accounts assemblies of the people's government.

—To controls, promotes, orients and checks on the performance of the CDRs in the zone as relates to the following activities or tasks:

—Holding of ceremonies honoring distinguished combatants or vanguards of the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces], MINIT [Ministry of Interior], EJT [Youth Labor Army] and students of the Camilo Cienfuegos School;

—Holding of hearings on patriotic-military education;

—Participation of CDRists in ideological, sports and cultural activities held with FAR and EJT units in the area of the zone;

—Unified and effective attention to family members with husbands, sons, brothers, or fathers who are performing international missions;

—Encouragement to parents of FAR recruits and EJT soldiers who maintain a good attitude in the performance of their duties;

—Visits to parents of FAR recruits and EJT soldiers who misbehave in their units to contribute to the discipline which they should maintain while on pass or in the units;

—Support for military committees in the calling up of youths for active military service which is done every year in accordance with instructions issued to this effect;

—Participation in notification of youths called into active military service;

—Checkup in each CDR during the registration period to determine whether youths of active military service age have appeared before recruiting committees to register;

—Organization of farewell ceremonies for recruits called into active military service;

--honors ceremonies for militiamen and combatants on anniversaries of the MNR [National Revolutionary Militias], FAR and MININT, when called upon to do so;

--preparation and updating of the CDR and zonal civil defense plan in time of war and natural disasters;

--classes for the people on the missions of the CDR in civil defense, through the use of orientation materials.

Member of the Executive Secretariat (responsible for organization)

--Controls, orients and checks suitably on the CDRs of the zone, with regard to all tasks of activities of an organizational character.

--Promotes emulation among the CDRs, as well as their control and checkout, particularly everything relating to the selection of CDRists and distinguished families, thereby the quarterly selection of CDRists occupying the first three positions is assured, as well as selection of all those who meet their commitments, in accordance with the provisions of the emulation methodology.

--Assists the coordinator in the preparation and control of work plans.

--Suitably prepares the meetings of the executive secretariat and directorate.

--Circulates the Order of the Day in time and format.

--Prepares the minutes of meetings of the executive secretariat and directorate, sending a copy to the municipality.

--Maintains the minutes of meetings of the executive secretariat and CDR assemblies, informing the coordinator and the rest of the executive secretariat of the zone of matters contained in such minutes which should be known to this organization or offered to it for decision.

--Assists the coordinator in programming and preparing meetings of the directorate and works to assure that these are held with the maximum participation of its members.

--Controls new admissions to the organization, in accordance with the provisions of the regulations, and handles the processing required for applicants in the zone over 18 years of age.

--Assures the proper application of the bylaws and regulations, particularly those relating to admissions, sanctions and appeals.

--Assures that the membership control registry is kept updated in all the CDRs of the zone and the increases and decreases produced.

--Controls the monthly report of the CDRs in the zone, assuring that it is submitted in time and proper format and has the required quality and accuracy.

--Sends a report of the work done in the zone to the municipality on the dates and for the periods established.

--Assures control and delivery of ID cards to members of the CDRs in his zone.

--Assures the efficient and systematic collection of membership dues in each CDR, particularly collection of 25 centavos, as well as control of reports of this activity of the CDR in the zone of this municipality.

--Assures that all dues-paying members keep their membership cards up to date.

--Insures the application of the regulation dealing with transfers of cadres and processes necessary transfers in CDRs in the zone before submitting them for consideration by the executive secretariat of this organization.

--Assures that necessary transfers of cadres in the executive secretariat and directorate meet established criteria.

--Instructs and organizes control of and assistance to the CDRs in the zone.

--Assures preparation of the work plans of the organization in his entity, as well as the breakdown of figures between CDRs as the basis for preparation of their plans.

Member of the Executive Secretariat responsible for ideological work and education)

--Works to raise the political and ideological level of all CDR members.

--Holds the monthly political education meeting in the CDR and zone, with the materials provided to him and on the basis of established criteria.

--Assures that all CDRs hold a second political education meeting if necessary so that members can attend who were unable to participate in the first meeting.

--Participates in the municipal seminar held after prior study of all materials, ensuring the participation and attendance of the orientation leader, both at the seminar and other activities preparatory thereto.

--Assures that orientation leaders of the CDRs hold seminars of the required quality, also insuring the attendance of the member of the executive secretariat of each CDR responsible for ideological work and education, when the orientation leader is not present.

--Constantly prepares and updates the history of the zone, as well as the biographical summary and photo of the martyr whose name the zone bears. Holds the annual commemorative celebration on the anniversary of the martyr whose name the zone bears. Assures that these tasks are performed by the CDRs.

--Assures the establishment of Marti study teams for the preparation of speeches and the publicizing of the life and works of Jose Marti.

--Controls and checks on the functioning of the movement of activists in history in the zone and CDRs, as well as promoting the surpassing thereof through a course oriented in this direction.

--Ensures the work of scientific dissemination in the zone by means of the reading of materials on subjects of a scientific kind prescribed by superior organizations.

--Organizes and holds popular art meetings and exhibitions.

--Assures the systematic updating of posters in the zones and CDRs, as a vehicle of information about the activities of the organization and the most important tasks of the country.

--Assures the establishment and functioning of the agitation and propaganda committee of the zone, orienting and controlling its activity.

--Makes proper use of the propaganda materials received from superior organizations, or those prepared by his own entity, as well as keeping the zone and CDRs free of outdated propaganda.

--Goes to, controls and checks the work of dissemination through the zonal propaganda correspondent and workshop.

--Reports to the municipality on tasks and activities performed in the zone and its CDRs so that such tasks and activities will be disseminated in the mass communications media.

--Controls, promotes, orients and checks on the performance by zonal CDRs of the following activities or tasks:

--Reading of materials suggested outside the study plan to contribute to the political development of the rank and file.

--Disseminating the history and struggle of the peoples of the world, gearing the propaganda to the development of the awareness and solidarity of our people on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

--Mobilizing CDRists to welcome and bid farewell to personalities who visit us, as well as the necessary political concentrations and ceremonies.

--Mobilizing members for ceremonies, conferences, meetings and dialogs of a political-ideological kind convened by superior organizations.

--Working to establish history teams in the zone and CDRs where prescribed, as well as assuring the participation of their members at meetings and assemblies which may be called and to prepare speeches on established topics.

--Publicizing and stimulating CDRist participation in 1 January history competitions, the anniversary of the organization and other competitions which may be scheduled.

--Engaging in activities related to the registration of the newborn in the CDR auxiliary record of the registry of addresses and promoting among young couples who marry the placing of the bride's bouquet on historical plaques or monuments.

--Distributing sufficient copies of the magazine, CON LA GUARDIA EN ALTO.

--Engaging in solidarity activities with countries in the socialist community, as well as support for the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

--Working to insure that every member of the CDRs who has responsibilities for the education of children and youth is an exemplary parent in education, meeting the established requirements to this end.

--Supporting primary and secondary education in a systematic way by class attendance, individual and/or collective study by children and youths, contributing to formation of correct habits of attendance, punctuality and study in our students, to promote high academic achievement.

--Visiting primary schools periodically and offering support to them in the interest of contributing to their proper functioning, to attain the objectives we have set for ourselves in the education of the younger generation.

--Assuring the correct functioning of the people's schools for fathers, as stipulated.

--Assuring that students wear school uniforms properly. To this end, direct discussions will be held with students, as well as using other incentives which may contribute to this objective.

--Seeing to it that students living in the area of the zone and who have scholarships arrive at the time and in the manner prescribed and assuring punctual return of the pass.

--Working with a view to incorporation in the classrooms of anyone who has not reached the sixth grade, organizing review sessions for the passing of the sixth grade, where there are suitable comrades not enrolled in classrooms of the educational system. Selecting a CDRist with the necessary educational level as a teacher or guide.

--Incorporating in classrooms of comrades who passed the sixth grade with a view to their continuing their studies and passing the ninth grade.

--Supporting the countryside school plan during the time programmed for it, organizing activities with students, both at their departure and return.

--Developing political and ideological work with young people from 13 to 16 years of age, unconnected with the educational system, as well as with their parents, with a view to their incorporation in educational installations established for this purpose.

--Motivating teachers and workers in the educational sector by means of the national day dedicated to them.

--Insuring the participation of the rank and file in cultural management.

--Assuring the establishment and functioning of popular art workshops in the zone and CDRs with facilities for them.

--Publicizing the activities of "Book Friends," plastic arts, music, theater, dance, etc meetings.

--Assuring participation of CDRists in the literature and history competitions which the organization holds in honor of its anniversaries.

--Attending to historical plaques, monuments and places within the zone.

--Publicizing systematically among the rank-and-file CDRists the importance of participation in the various sports activities, particularly the "CDRist Family DAY [Ready-to-Win]" competitions held at the level of the CDRs and zones.

--Encouraging Cuban athletes who live in the zone to participate in international events.

--Encouraging children and youths to participate at the street and playground levels.

--Assuring participation by members over 59 years of age in physical fitness tests when prescribed.

Member of the Executive Secretariat (responsible for vigilance)

--Works to insure the maximum incorporation of CDR members in the Revolutionary Popular Guard, through the plan established for the zone, depending upon the operational situation, with sufficient advance notification to each CDR of the date when it is to perform its guard duties.

--Controls participants in this activity and reports on their behavior during regular meetings of the organization at its own level and higher levels.

--Assures the continuing updating of the auxiliary record of the registry of addresses and maintenance of the ID card system and registry of addresses, reporting any violations which occur to the appropriate offices of the MININT.

--Assuring the work of the CDRs with a view to incorporation of the CDRists in seaside detachments or the revolutionary guard in the event the detachments are not established, if the zone is located in coastal areas.

--Proposes candidates for membership in movie vigilance units.

--Promotes, through the CDRs, participation of the members in meetings, talks and conferences convened by the organization, in which combatants and officials analyze the operational situation and report on the modus operandi in the face of the enemy, both common and counterrevolutionary, and his method of operation.

--Works on the deterrence, prevention and reporting of improper, antisocial and enemy conduct.

--Collects from the CDRs, to report to superior levels, abnormalities, conduct, events or items which may be of interest to organizations of the PNR (Revolutionary National Police), Security, the party and state.

--Calls upon the people through their CDRs to actively participate in repudiation ceremonies, in response to robberies in the territory of the zone, coordinating these with the municipality.

--Checks on the residence of fugitives, controls Revolutionary Justice circulars and cooperates in the locating and capture of these fugitives.

--Takes the prescribed cooperation actions, as an auxiliary of the judicial functions, in accordance with the criminal procedures law.

Member of the Executive Secretariat (responsible for public health, social work, voluntary work and savings)

--Assures that public health and social work activists take courses in methodology, seminars and conferences held in the zone or municipality.

--Controls, promotes, orients and checks on performance in the CDRs in the zone of the following activities or tasks:

--Mobilizing CDRists for special meetings and holding those within their purview.

--Vaccinating all children annually against poliomyelitis.

--Supporting other vaccination programs in the community, prescribed by the Ministry of Public Health.

--Mobilizing members to donate blood, assuring control over suitable donors and rotation in the established time frames.

--Mobilizing members for cleanups and beautification in support of the garden plan.

--Setting up micronurseries and planting roses in the zone and its CDRs.

--Educating the people of their CDRs systematically in the observance of established hygienic and environmental standards.

--Supporting the infant mortality reduction program through meetings, vaccinations, publicity and other activities.

--Working for the protection and care of the environment and natural resources, particularly the flora and fauna.

--Supporting the Ministry of Public Health in those activities in which the participation of the rank and file is required and which are prescribed by the organization.

--Orienting social workers and checking on the handling of case files, assuring visits and the channeling of information.

--Assuring the organization and participation of the rank and file in activities related to the publicizing, discussing and complying with the socialist legal system, through laws, codes, etc.

--Assuring the participation of the CDRists and in turn participating in meetings on the socialist legal system.

--Assuring compliance with any home quarantine order in the zone, as well as reporting to the popular tribunal if this quarantine is violated.

--Working with youths who have behavior problems to insure their total incorporation in society, through preventive and ideological work.

--Publicizing by means of posters, talks, etc, materials designed to prevent and deter antisocial conduct.

--Reporting to the superior organization on those handicapped persons who are not receiving help and whom the state must take care of, as well as providing the moral support and human solidarity these cases require.

--Attending meetings held on the subject of traffic.

--Mobilizing CDRists for National Traffic Week, for its regulation, as well as its publicizing.

--Assuring the attendance of CDRists at conferences offered by the comrades of the Department of Fire Prevention and Extinguishing.

--Mobilizing members in support of agricultural tasks, particularly the sugar harvest, as well as construction projects, social benefit projects carried out in the community in support of the people's government, the cleaning and beautifying of city blocks, by assuring that these are rational and productive.

--Controlling qualified personnel living in the zone, such as teachers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, painters, etc, who may cooperate in any activity requiring their services.

--Attending to the families of internationalist workers wherever they live and organizing welcoming and farewell ceremonies on the block when these workers depart to perform an international mission or when they return from one.

--Attending to the families of the permanent cacheteros or other comrades who are mobilized for production tasks outside their place of residence.

--Assuring block activities where national work heroes or heroines live, in recognition of their merits.

--Controlling members who seek the Communist Work Certificate, as well as assuring the working of the number of hours to which they are committed.

--Assuring broad publicity activities among all members and the families of every CDRist concerning the need for savings.

--Working to reduce consumption of electric energy and water by every family unit, with emphasis on only necessary consumption.

--Recovering paper and cardboard, with explanations during direct visits to every family on the need of our country's economy to recover this kind of raw material.

--Recovering glass containers of all kinds.

--Recovering used postage stamps.

--Delivering Mother's Day cards sent to the women residing in the same.

9161
CSO: 3010

CASTRO'S NIECE: CELIA SANCHEZ' DEATH ATTRIBUTED TO CANCER

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 28 Jan 80 p 6-A

[Text] Santiago de Compostela (Coruna, Spain) 27 Jan (EFE)--Fidel Castro's secretary, Celia Sanchez, who recently passed away in Cuba, died as a "result of pulmonary cancer" according to Marita Lopez, niece of the Cuban president in a statement published today by the local newspaper LA VOZ DE GALICIA.

Marita Lopez told the newspaper that Fidel Castro and his brother Raul attended Celia Sanchez' funeral and denied stories that Castro's secretary was killed in a shootout.

The newspaper wrote that it made immediate contacts with Estelita Lopez Castro, Castro's first cousin, who lives in Sarria (Lugo) and afterward with her daughter, Marita, who lives in Madrid.

According to Marita, stories such as the one published recently about a shootout between the Castro brothers, "have no basis in fact. I can assure you," she said, "that reports about the death of Celia Sanchez during a shootout are utterly false."

She said she has proof to refute such reports and that she has photographs which show the two Castro brothers, Fidel and Raul Castro, at the funeral.

In 1978, Estelita and her husband attended a dinner in Cuba during the Christmas season, and Fidel Castro's secretary was present. "Even then," she said, "it was known that Celia Sanchez was suffering from lung cancer which required an operation last year and she died from the disease 10 days ago."

CSO: 5010

INTERIOR MINISTER RESIGNS TO SEEK PARTY OFFICE

Santo Domingo EL CARIBE in Spanish 12 Jan 80 p 8

[Article by Jose R. Baez Guerrero]

[Text] The secretary of state of interior and police, Vicente Sanchez Baret, resigned effective 10 January 1980, in his words, to dedicate himself to "political activities."

Sanchez Baret made the announcement yesterday during a New Year's ceremony at the National Palace.

"I want to announce publicly that I have decided to resign as secretary of interior and police effective 10 January," Sanchez Baret said.

He added that "I am also resigning as a member of the board of administrators of the Dominican Aviation Co.

"At the next meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), on Tuesday, I plan to run for the office of national director for organization of the PRD," Sanchez Baret indicated.

"And if I am elected by the majority of that organization," he added, "I will dedicate myself to political activities."

Sanchez Baret said, "I am leaving a high government office with my hands clean and my head high; I am leaving without a bank account, without real estate, and without a car to ride in.

"I will go back to my party activities just the way I came into the government on 16 August 1978," he said.

"I will continue to be a loyal friend of President Guzman," he said, "And I will give firm and solid support to the constitutional government of the republic, which is headed by that exemplary citizen, Antonio Guzman."

The official said that his resignation came because he understands that the government is properly financed, democracy is now institutionalized in the country, and there is a chance to go back to the ranks of the party and contribute his efforts to party activities in preparation for the 1982 elections.

Sanchez Baret expressed the opinion that his resignation would not affect the proportion of PRD members in the cabinet "because the PRD has the good fortune to be an organization rich in leadership."

"Therefore," he added, "I am resigning but others will probably come into the government. My absence from the cabinet in no way means that the government might limit PRD participation in the government."

He stated that "I am retiring, but others will come along; and I do not plan to go on to any other public office, but rather to dedicate myself completely to party activities."

Sanchez Baret was PRD director of organization in the last electoral campaign. He was named secretary of interior and police on 16 August 1978, when Guzman assumed the presidency.

The politician is known as one of the men closest to Guzman, and was the main organizer of the campaign that carried Guzman to the presidency.

6587
CSO: 3010

BALAGUER CLAIMS NOT TO SEEK NEW TERM SAYING COURT

Never Sought Reelection

Santo Domingo EL CARIBE in Spanish 10 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by Jose A. Ramos Guerrero]

[Text] Monteria, Rami, Jan 9--President Antonio Guzman today stated that he will not seek another presidential term, and that "he has never changed his position with respect to reelection."

The head of state discussed reelection and other subjects during an interview in this town about 20 kilometers from Rami. Guzman made an automobile tour through the southern region talking with peasants.

Guzman said, "I have never for a moment changed my position on reelection. I have been consistent since I began in politics and I have never changed my thinking at any time.

"So my thinking is still the same, that is, I have indicated that I do not like, and am not in favor of, reelections, such as have occurred in the past," he stated.

At the same time, Guzman indicated that he will not make major changes in his cabinet, as has been rumored for several days.

"I am not going to make any such changes as people have been expecting, that is, a complete change. I will make the changes I need to, but not because the first of the year is a reason for changes," said Guzman.

He added that "I will continue to make the changes required by public administration, not only in the cabinet, but in the entire public administration system."

Guzman also said that not all legislators have taken a "radical" position toward the bills sent by the executive branch, and made it clear that he had generalized when he criticized that situation in a recent speech.

"What happened is that, of course, I generalized in my talk. And there are some members of congress who have taken, let us say, a radical posture on the bills the executive branch has sent," Guzmán said.

"So," he added, "I want to make a correction, and state that not all legislators have had this attitude."

The president spoke with newsmen in a mobile home which was awaiting him at Monteria, where he ate lunch with several government officials who accompanied him on his tour of the southern region.

Moreover, Guzmán said that the government is not planning to nationalize the Dominican Petroleum Refinery.

"We are revising the contract with the refinery. I have never said that I will nationalize the oil refinery," Guzmán stated.

He added that "we are going to revise the contract, and it will be as much in the interests of the nation as possible."

PPDC Leader Questions Statement

Santo Domingo LISTIN DIARIO in Spanish 12 Jan 80 p 9

[Article by Santiago Guzmán]

[Text] Airport of the Americas--The president of the Christian Democratic Progressist Party [PPDC] yesterday expressed the opinion that President Antonio Guzmán is preparing for presidential reelection.

Ramón A Castillo said that all President Guzmán's political activities are clear indications that he will seek reelection as president, but he will not be elected because after his term is ended he will merely be president of a private company.

Castillo indicated that Guzmán's actions are continually adding votes to the side of Dr Joaquín Balaguer, president of the Reformist Party and certain winner in the 1982 elections.

The PPDC president warned the people of the "great corruption" in government, and indicated that President Guzmán is a well-intentioned person who is committed to being a political leader.

In Castillo's opinion, Guzmán's government has done nothing in its approximately 2 years in office and in what remains of the term, it will mortgage our country entirely."

Castillo also believed that the internal struggle in the Reformist Party showed clearly that it is a living organization, which is preparing to take power once again in 1982.

In regard to using Haitian labor to cut cane, Castillo said that if he were president he would not allow any Haitian citizen to come into this country for that work.

"We must cut our cane with Dominican labor. Either we cut it ourselves, or the country sinks," the president of the PPDC said firmly.

He lamented the fact that there is a 40 to 50 percent unemployment rate in this country, while citizens of another country are imported to do work that can be done by Dominicans.

Castillo said that most Haitians who come to this country every year to work stay here permanently, selling tickets and lotteries and doing other jobs.

Further discussing the Reformist Party, he expressed the belief that that organization has just one leader, and he is Dr Balaguer.

"Most of the Dominican people in all social sectors consider Balaguer the top leader, and do not care for the other minor candidates for the leadership," Castillo added.

In conclusion he said that Balaguer will win the general elections, as long as he has with him a clean citizen who can inspire confidence and respect in the masses and in the local governments of the nation.

4587
CSO: 3017

PCD, PSP DEFEND SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

PCD Document Summarized

Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 11 Jan 80 p 8-A

[Article by Manuel Perez Santana]

[Text] The Dominican Communist Party (PCD) today came out in defense of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, believing that it is "a step to counteract the new imperialist offensive in the region and the world against the socialist system and the world revolutionary movement."

The PCD believes, moreover, that the Russian invasion of Afghanistan is a military action intended to prevent "a political setback in a neighboring country and as a warning to the promoters of the cold war and military blackmail in the United States.

"We understand," the PCD stated in a document analyzing the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan, "that this military intervention is not directed against a self-determination or emancipation movement by the Afghan people, but against a movement, sponsored openly by imperialism, promoted from within Pakistan with the help of the most reactionary governments of Asia."

The PCD believes that "obviously it is a direct intervention against an indirect intervention by forces which are more powerful than the ability of the present Afghan government's mechanisms of power and coercion to resist."

And it adds, "The PCD believes that the increased Soviet military presence in Afghanistan has motivations different from those in the case of Czechoslovakia," and therefore defines it as "a confrontation with the enemies of socialism, progress and peace.

"In that case," it adds, "from our position as communists and revolutionaries, we cannot condemn or reject it; on the contrary, we feel a duty to defend it in the strict term of confrontation with imperialism, which in our understanding, is the basic reason for it."

The document adds that the PCD hopes that the role of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan will be limited to the proclaimed intentions, and that in no case will they be used to crush any of the domestic revolutionary factions composing the movement that inspired the 1978 revolution and which have remained faithful to their original goals.

In the long document, the communist organization expresses its concern for man's future today, threatened by the danger of world war, in view of the increased tension between the two systems and their principal powers."

The PCD believes that the United States has chosen a course that carries with it serious dangers for world peace, and therefore "for the very existence of the world community, considering the destructive power of thermonuclear weapons."

PSP Follows Moscow Line

Santo Domingo EL NACIONAL in Spanish 10 Jan 80 p 5-A

[Text of declaration by the Popular Socialist Party Central Committee: "The Truth About Afghanistan"]

[Text] The troops of the Soviet Union are in Afghanistan because they were called upon by the revolutionary government of that country to aid it in repelling foreign aggression and to defend the revolution. They are not there against the will of the people.

Afghanistan requested military aid from the Soviet Union under the terms of a treaty of friendship, good neighborliness and cooperation which was signed by both nations on 5 December 1978, and moreover in application of Article 51 of the UN Charter, which grants to all nations the right of self-defense.

But the United States has unleashed a campaign of lies to confuse the world about what is happening in Afghanistan. Every day one reads in the newspapers that the Soviets "invaded" Afghanistan, that they are "intervening against the sovereignty" of that nation, that they have set up a puppet government there, and so forth.

All this is absolutely false, and is being said to obscure the truth.

AFGHANISTAN IS THE VICTIM OF ARMED INCURSIONS WHICH ARE ORGANIZED OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY, BUT THOSE WHO ARE ARMING, FINANCING, AND DIRECTING THAT INTERVENTIONIST OPERATION ARE THE NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS, THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON, WHOSE ACCOMPLICES ARE CHINA, ENGLAND, EGYPT AND PAKISTAN.

In April of 1978, a patriotic revolution which triumphed in Afghanistan brought the Popular Democratic Party to power. The Afghan people's victory was a setback for the United States and for its business interests, which until that time had had an open door in Afghanistan. Washington did not accept the loss of Afghanistan, and launched a counteroffensive to recover the positions which it had lost in the revolution.

Pakistan, which borders on Afghanistan and which has a proimperialist government, was chosen as the base of operations. The reactionary bands that rose in arms against the revolutionary government have been trained, armed, and financed by the North American CIA. These counterrevolutionaries enter and leave Pakistan freely, and from there they launch armed incursions into Afghan territory.

In China, which today is allied with the imperialist government of the United States, many groups of saboteurs have been trained, and are later dropped into Afghan territory by parachute.

North America and England placed army officers in Pakistan to command the groups being trained there. Chinese and Egyptian advisers also took part in the training. And to equip them, the United States and China sent arms, ammunition, and military equipment to depots in Peshawar, Pakistan, where they are issued to the reactionary gangs.

THIS IS REAL INTERVENTION. THIS IS PLOTTING AND ENCOURAGING SUBVERSION, AND THIS HAS BEEN DONE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF WASHINGTON AND WITH THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CIA, TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY. THIS IS REALLY INTERVENING IN AFGHANISTAN. THIS IS A REAL VIOLATION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THAT COUNTRY, AND WASHINGTON IS DOING THIS AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN IN ORDER TO ARREST THE VICTORIES OF THE REVOLUTION FROM THEM.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS TAKEN ACTION TO HALT THAT ABUSE, TO DEFEND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF AFGHANISTAN, TO DEFEND THE REVOLUTION.

ALL THIS HAS BEEN DONE UNDER THE CARTER GOVERNMENT. THUS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS BROKEN ALL RECORDS FOR HYPOCRISY IN ACCUSING THE SOVIET UNION OF INTERVENTION, WHEN IT IS HIS GOVERNMENT THAT IS PROMOTING FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN. CARTER IS REACTING AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE HIS PLOT WAS BACKFIRED AND HE IS FURIOUS.

Another aspect that ought to be known is that the first revolutionary governments in Afghanistan made mistakes that favored imperialism's interventionist plot, but the situation worsened when, 4 months ago, the government was usurped by a traitor to the revolution, Hafizullah Amin, who turned out to be an agent of the United States, and who instituted a bloody regime. Because of that, the better revolutionary forces in Afghanistan, headed by Babrak Karmal, organized the movement that removed him from power.

Karmal was the leader of the Parcham Marxist party, which had fought politically and ideologically for years with another Marxist party, the Jaiq, to which Amin belonged. Both groups were finally united in the Popular Democratic Party, which led the revolution. But when it came into power, the alliance broke up, and the Parcham members began being removed from their government positions and persecuted by members of the former Jaiq.

Amin staged a coup last 14 September, during which President Taraki died, and he established a bloody regime which murdered tens of thousands of men and women of the people. It tried to impose collectivization of agriculture by military force, against the will of the peasants, which generalized discontent in rural areas. Many revolutionaries were imprisoned.

All this created a dangerous situation which allowed the reactionary gangs of the CIA to present themselves as the defenders of the peasants, and to begin gathering support among the confused people. The very existence of the Republic of Afghanistan was threatened, and the revolution would have been lost had the forces led by Kamal not acted in time to halt the crimes of Hafizullah Amin.

The new government, which is a government of the National Front headed by the Popular Democratic Party, broke up Amin's torture machine, freed 9,000 political prisoners, and asked the Soviet Union to come and drive off the foreign aggressors. At the same time, it has declared that "the problem of the people who have taken up arms against the government will be solved by political means."

Hafizullah Amin was tried by a revolutionary tribunal and condemned to death for his crimes against Afghanistan and the Afghan people. The fall of his bloody regime, which betrayed the revolution, has been cheered by the democratic forces of Afghanistan, by the workers, the intellectuals, the urban masses, and other sectors.

This is the truth about what happened in Afghanistan.

And this has caused the failure of Yankee imperialism's plans.

The United States planned to compensate itself with Afghanistan for the loss of Iran. It had planned to turn Afghanistan into a base for imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union. But its hands have been burned by those tricks.

The events in Afghanistan are part of the struggle by the worldwide revolution, with imperialism taking an ever more aggressive and desperate course, trying to turn back the clock to the days of the cold war, as it sees itself ever more at bay against crisis and the advance of socialism. But it will fail in this as well. The glorious Soviet Union, which is leading mankind's march to the summit of communism, will, with the help of the international working class, the oppressed peoples who are fighting for their freedom, and those who are friends of peace, be able to leash the vile imperialists. That is what they are doing with their troops in Afghanistan.

[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

BRIEFS

BROKEN JOB PROMISES--The president, Antonio Guzman Fernandez, and 26 zone secretaries of the Dominican Revolutionary Party [PRD] met last night at the National Palace in an effort to resolve the discontent of PRD members who have not yet received jobs in government. Dr Lorenzo Sanchez Saret, deputy administrative secretary to the presidency and the person responsible for government appointments, was also present at the meeting between the head of state and the PRD zone leaders. The meeting was held shortly after eight o'clock and ended after ten. Although no official information has transpired it was learned that the meeting concerned the appointment of PRD members to state institutions. The PRD members have publicly made known their dissatisfaction because after more than a year and a half the promised job opportunities have not been forthcoming. Many of the zone leaders participating in the meeting reported on the situation experienced by PRD members and conveyed their dissatisfaction to the president because they have not yet been given job opportunities in the government which they took to power on 16 August 1978. [Text] [FL151404 Santo Domingo Radio HIL Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 15 Feb 80 FL]

CSO: 3010

COLUMNIST QUESTIONS U.S. TIES TO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

PA2106000 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 19 Feb 90 pp 28, 30 PA

[Commentary by "Jometo," attributed to Guillermo O. Ventivar: "U.S. Embassy in Position of Ridicule"]

[Text] United States foreign policy has always been characterized by the highest seriousness and a certain nobility consistent with the high principles on which the founding of the country was based and the manifest destiny of its subsequent expansion. Acceptable or not, good or bad as its policy toward the other American countries might be, there cannot be found in the past even a whit of mediocrity and absurdity in the U.S. foreign relations with its Latin American neighbors. That is why the behavior of the embassy of the U.S. colossus in our country is now unexplainable.

Since Romero's times, the U.S. Embassy has had confidence in the Christian Democratic Party, believing it to be a political party with the greatest popular support and having very competent leaders including: "El Chaparro" Chavez Mena, Duarte, Hada Hirezo and Morales Ehrlich. For these reasons, the embassy was led to believe that the solution to our problems was to put the Christian Democrats in power.

Until Duarte returned from Venezuela, this assessment might have had some semblance of accuracy, but the very arrival of Duarte and subsequent events make it inexcusable for the embassy to persist in this assessment and even to give some credibility to the Christian Democratic leaders.

Duarte's return was a notorious and awful sign of lost popularity. The Christian Democratic ambition of participating in the previous government junta was also a failure, because they were rejected by the people. Upon the fall of the previous junta, the Christian Democrats betrayed the people's wi[illegible] More than 1 month passed before that junta could establish a cabinet, an[illegible] it is still very far from filling all the municipal councils of the republic. Meanwhile, the embassy must have seen on television the cheap extremism of the clumsy so-called Christian Democratic leaders. At the same time, the embassy must have learned about the thousands of traitorous documents of the Christian Democrats found in their party headquarters. Along with all this, the embassy must have taken note of the wealth of misgovernment by those "nice men" of the traveling circus; a misgovernment which has brought

the country almost to economic bankruptcy. Finally, the embassy cannot close its eyes to the constitutional felony which its "buddies," its proteges plan to carry out; a felony which has been repudiated by all men of law, who censure these corrupt and shameless politicians who feel a constitution should serve their base ambitions and petty interests. In addition, the meeting on the 16th, despite the support of the common people, has been the greatest disaster in history, something like a seal placed by the people on the tomb of the embassy "favorites."

Moreover, to top it all, everyone already knows that "Tomas" Morales Ehrlich, "Loval" Chavez Mena, "Mike Tunney" Duda, "Jose Rap" Duarte, and so forth go running from the presidential palace to the embassy to ask for help whenever they have a serious problem.

Therefore, today the embassy can no longer claim ignorance or deceit because the falsehood, the notorious incompetence, the political corruption and the total lack of popular support of the clique of Christian Democratic leaders has now been revealed.

In view of all this, the embassy should be asked:

Is it not time for you to end your self-deception? Is it not time for you to cut your links to that "clique" of false, traitorous, incompetent and unpatriotic politicians?

Is it not true that the serious and high-level conduct that you should maintain in line with the grandeur of your country becomes ridiculous when it lends itself to the maneuvers of those politicians who are scorned by our people?

-30- 0010

CP OFFICIAL SAYS U.S. SUPPORT REPRESSION IN COUNTRY

LD2109Z3 Paris [illegible] in French 14 Feb 80 p 7 LD

[Interview with unnamed leader of Communist Party of El Salvador in San Salvador by Jean Ortiz: "New Bloodbaths"--date not specified]

[Text] San Salvador--"U.S. imperialism prefers to plunge our country into a bloodbath rather than accept a new revolutionary change in Central America."

The communist leader who spoke to me had his face hidden by a hood. The interview took place in the atmosphere of brutal repression which forces the Communist Party of El Salvador to operate in secret. A small group of journalists was taken to the meeting place with many precautions and the place was kept secret for security reasons. The building was surrounded by masked armed militants. The communist leader spoke calmly.....

"Our party is watching the development of the situation in El Salvador with both optimism and anxiety. The oligarchy is preventing any change in the socioeconomic structures and tenaciously opposing a democratic approach making it impossible. The whole army has become this oligarchy's party. Fascist elements occupy very important positions in the state machine and in the past few weeks have been stepping up their efforts to draw the whole army machine into the repression. The alternatives can be summarized as follows: Either democratic, popular change or fascism. The reformist maneuver instigated by the state department has failed. This path is closed, doomed to failure. Washington should give our people the freedom to choose their own future. We reject any form of foreign intervention. The class enemy has responded to moves toward unity among the revolutionary forces by increasing repression with U.S. blessing.

"The Communist Party of El Salvador does not think that any victory is possible without the consolidation and extension of the unitary process, which should be open to all mass organizations, all social, patriotic and honest sections of society which oppose the present course of events and condemn the crimes committed by the military dictatorship and the oligarchy's 'economic model.'

"The main enemy to be defeated is not the Christian Democratic Party...it is the military and oligarchical elements which are planning a 'nazist solution

to the military regime's irreversible crisis. The Communist Party is the party which has worked hardest for unity; the revolutionary forces should now draw up a clear and precise program and define a broad policy of alliances....

"The revolution's problem is fundamentally political and not military. There are political organizations which, in the framework of their fundamentally political activities, are carrying out armed operations because revolutionary change can only be brought about in El Salvador by armed struggle....

"The people's movement in our country has spread in a spectacular way since May 1979. The workers movement has grown stronger...the Central American peoples intend to throw off the imperialist yoke."

CSO: 9010

PAPER SAYS TERRORISM COMES FROM CUBA

PA2002Zh San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 19 Feb 80 pp 10, 62 PA

[Commentary by "Josefo," attributed by Guillermo B. Manliver: "The Christian Absurdity"]

[Excerpts] Following the blind and unstable terms of a destiny that must fatally be fulfilled, the Christian Democratic oligarchy--write this down in your notebook, Dr Calvani--is continuing its path toward final collapse. The Communists might say that they are marked with the brand of Cain. Each step, every measure, every speech, every gesture, bears the flavor of one more mistake in a desperate effort which helps to sink them inch by inch in the mire which they themselves have sought.

Through their maneuvers they were able to get their neighbors to the north to believe in their diagnoses and their magic formulas. This deceit, confirmed by favorable reports from the local embassy, prepared by third or fourth-rank officials, determined the policy to be followed [by the United States] with that "insignificant republic"--El Salvador. They are now awakening from their error.

Proof of this is a very significant AP dispatch published recently by the national press which refers to the aid the United States plans to give the Revolutionary Government Junta. One of its most significant paragraphs says:

"The U.S. government had trusted that the new Salvadoran government, with its program of economic reforms, would win greater popular support, but this has apparently failed to occur, largely because of its inability to repress terrorism."

As can be seen, it is only now that the United States is awakening to reality. Previously it was blind and deaf. It paid attention only to reports from its embassy, from the Christian Democratic Party and the national revolutionary movement. And the facts are otherwise. The roots of the problem are not here but in Cuba. Terrorism and subversion are not expressions of alleged or imagined popular dissatisfaction that will be resolved with a group of structural reforms. Subversion and terrorism are a part of a war plan whose final objective is destruction of the military and economic power of the United States. But the United States has been unwilling or unable to see this.

Here in El Salvador two sectors are really familiar with the problem: the so-called left, which knows what it wants, what it is doing and where its steps are directed, and the so-called right, which does not agree with the solutions of international communism, thinks in national terms and is demanding Salvadoran solutions to Salvadoran problems. Away with imported experiments and formulas, which the defeatists of all persuasions always accept willingly, thereby getting into the graces of the owners of the new Rome.

CSO: 3010

FAPU BLAMES OLIGARCHY FOR CRISIS

FA2111415 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 20 Feb 80 p 25 PA

[Paid advertisement by the United Popular Action Front]

[Excerpts] After having looted the country and sent their millions to the United States, the old and obsolete oligarchy anxiously seeks a civil war while the oligarchy sips expensive liquors in Miami and El Salvador it uses champagne bottles to make bombs. Oligarchy members talk about paintings and pillows, while their paid killers murder people here.

In Miami, they buy furnishings for their new and luxurious apartments. In El Salvador, the fascist military hunts down the peoples organizations.

The Salvadoran oligarchy has exerted its power by assigning the armed forces the task of governing the country. When its interests have been threatened in the slightest manner, by timid reforms such as Molina's agrarian changes, it has speedily put its millions into play or has threatened a coup d'etat. Today with disconcerting cynicism it says the people and their organizations are responsible for the crisis.

The Salvadoran crisis is caused by an obsolete oligarchy materially and historically incapable of solving the most serious and pressing national problems.

The sectors responsible for the national crisis are the oligarchy, the imperialists and the fascist armed forces. If we are to find solutions to the people's problems this trio must be defeated, this fascist group led by the National Security Agency of El Salvador [ANSESAL], dismantled, and the oligarchic power which controls most of the Salvadoran economy, destroyed.

The Armed Forces Permanent Council [COPEFA] becomes a component of ANSESAL for the coordination of psychological warfare, as was shown on 12 February in the communique issued "explaining the massacre." They wanted the people to believe that the police had been attacked. They used the traditional Somoza excuse of "an unexpected encounter between the demonstrators and the police." They said the police had been forced to repel the attack.

The constant campaign of distortion and harassment maintained by Defense Minister Garcia to help the military seek to [word indistinct] against communism.

The fascists constantly provoke the popular movement. Evidence of this are the massacres on 16 January and 12 February. They encourage operations in rural areas and towns such as Aguilares. They murder and persecute. This brutally repressive offensive seeks to provoke a premature revolution that will lead to an immediate confrontation.

However, the other fascist plans have come up against the political maturity of the people's and revolutionary organizations.

All the plans follow the same scheme to halt the growth of the people's movements. However, this only causes unity and morale to become stronger.

The oligarchic plans do not humble or frighten the people. On the contrary, they cause an increase in the struggle and the desire for victory.

The popular movement grows larger as it is joined by progressive and democratic forces. It grows stronger thanks to international aid and solidarity which is expressed more and more, as was shown recently in Mexico when over 7,000 persons demonstrated against the 12 February massacre and the puppet Christian Democratic junta.

We must oppose the fascist and oligarchic brutality with a broad people's movement representing the people's organizations and the democratic and progressive forces seeking the installation of national salvation people's government. Only a people's government can solve the most desperate problems of the Salvadoran people and responsibly and vigorously assume the immediate task of destroying the oligarchic power and all the fascist structures existing from centuries of colonialism and dependency.

CSO: 0010

COFFEE GROWERS PROTEST NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

PA2210441 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSAX in Spanish 2005 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA

[Statement issued 20 February by Salvadoran Coffee Growers Association; Cadena Network]

[Text] The national convention of coffee growers considers that:

1. The nationalization of the internal and external marketing of coffee decreed by the Revolutionary Government Junta is harmful to the interests of the coffee producers.

2. Total state control of coffee activities by the National Coffee Institute eliminates the property rights of the producers and their freedom to market their product whenever, to whomever and at whatever price they deem best.

3. The failure to sell the 1979-1980 coffee crop represents millions of colones in losses to the state in foreign exchange and fiscal income, a loss of liquidity for the producers and the destabilization of the national financial system, thereby endangering the very solidity of our currency.

4. All this economic chaos is having direct repercussions on the peasant class, since agricultural work properly done at this cycle of production is not being done in most of the estates.

The convention therefore agrees to:

1. Express our total and absolute rejection of the demagogic-political measure which is inspired by the totalitarian idea of nationalizing the internal and external marketing of coffee.

2. Demand that the Christian Democratic Government Junta revoke Decree No 44 and, within the shortest possible time, open up registers for exporting, in the traditional manner, the coffee from the 1979-1980 crops.

3. Warn the government Junta before the fact that the economic collapse the country will experience and the serious consequences that unemployment will cause at the coffee farms because of the Junta's failure to heed these just and minimal demands of the coffee association.

BRIEFS

IMPORT, EXPORT MEASURES REPORTED--The monetary board informs the public that it has taken temporary steps to improve international operations. The following are the steps taken: 1. When exports (both outside the area and to the Central American nations) exceed $2,000 or their equivalent in other currencies, exporters shall present to customs export registration papers issued by the Central Reserve Bank of El Salvador at its main office or by its branches. The papers will contain, in addition to a clear description of the goods to be exported, information on quantity and price and the possible date when revenue will be received in the country. This measure will become effective on 1 March 1980. Therefore, exporters are urged to immediately ask the Central Bank's exchange control office for the necessary information to conduct their activities. 2. Imports (from outside Central America): goods considered to be luxury goods and not essential to nutrition and health or the country's economic development shall have to pay the Central Bank a previous deposit totaling 200 percent of their value as quoted on List No 1 and 100 percent of their value for those quoted on List No 2. The Central Bank will provide a copy of those lists to the interested parties. The measures will become effective on 19 February. [Excerpt, paid advertisement] [PA211510 San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 19 Feb 80 p 35 PA]

ERP CONDEMNS YSAX ATTACK--The Revolutionary People's Army [ERP] condemns the dastardly attack staged by reactionary forces on Radio Station YSAX on the evening of 16 February. This criminal attack is no more than the response of the criminal oligarchy, the reactionary army and the demagogic and murderous Christian Democratic Military Junta to the current valiant attitude of Catholic Church groups who are identified with the suffering of our people and are denouncing injustice. The ERP calls on our people and all other nations to denounce and prevent the criminal plans to interfere in our country that U.S. imperialism is promoting with the support of Guatemala and Venezuela's Christian Democratic administration. Imperialists have already started their direct intervention with the marines who were involved in the massacre at El Porvenir and the arrest of comrades Jose Humberto Mejia Alvarado and Francisco Arnulfo Ventura Reyes, student operatives of the people's revolutionary bloc, at the American Embassy. We call on the genuinely democratic and revolutionary forces in Venezuela and the United States to stop these plans and not let our people's right to self-determination be trampled upon by the imperialists. We also urge our people to prepare for heroic warfare if the imperialists try to take victory away from us. In the event of U.S. intervention, we will pursue the people's warfare and our country will light the spark that will touch off revolution in Central and Latin America. Imperialists, get out of Central America! [Text] [PA211620 People's Revolutionary Radio [clandestine] in Spanish to El Salvador 0010 GMT 20 Feb 80 PA]

[redacted]

NATIONAL PARTY PRESENTS GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 1 Feb 90 pp 41-45

[Text] I. Introduction

The National Party, realizing its great historical responsibility to the Honduran people at this time of economic, social and moral crisis, as the country moves forward towards a constitutional government, has decided to unveil to the Honduran public the main elements of its government program, which has been drafted with all of the appropriate breadth and responsibility, in consultation with all of the segments of our population.

II Doctrinal Foundations

As a serious and responsible political institution that is aware of the major role that it must play as a champion of the principles of participatory democracy, the National Party can state to the Honduran people that its government program is based not only on the full vindication of the fundamental rights of the human person, but also on the execution of the major transformations of the nation's economic, social and political structures that are essential to making the economic, social and political rights of individuals and their families concrete realities. With its government program National Party reaffirms that it is part of current and future grievance movements and advocates abandoning the old development models that have proven historically to be ineffective and pursuing the social transformation policies that will yield real benefits for all Hondurans. In this regard, the National Party calls for a profound change from the traditional concept of the classical liberal state to the transforming concept of the modern state in service to the people. This is based on the principle that the state must serve society, not vice-versa.

The National Party has done an in-depth historical analysis of the objective realities that characterize the current conditions of economic and social underdevelopment and extreme foreign dependence

of the Honduran economy. A thorough study of poverty figures, which reflect the economic and social disenfranchisement of the great majority of the Honduran people, is presented in detail in the complete government program of the National Party. The same document identifies the structural causes of poverty, disenfranchisement and dependency in such clear and convincing terms that there can be no doubt regarding the policy measures that the National Party must adopt to effectively combat the basic causes of poverty, underdevelopment and dependency.

The basic purpose of this summary of the government program of the National Party of Honduras is to offer each of our fellow citizens a clear, concise, concrete and practical idea of how our party, with the cooperation of all Hondurans, plans to resolve the enormous problems besetting our nation, pursuant to a doctrinal approach that, in keeping with the principles of participatory democracy and based on absolute respect for individual rights, will lead the nation towards a new era of peaceful coexistence with social change.

The doctrinal principle on which the National Party's government program is based is, therefore, the transformation of Honduras's economic, political and social structures, predicated on the most thorough vindication of the economic, social and political rights of the individual and the family. This includes the inalienable right to rise up from poverty, disenfranchisement and dependency and to participate actively in all of the spheres of national life in a climate of freedom, equal opportunity and democratic participation for all Hondurans.

2.1. A Government of True National Integration

The National Party's government program reaffirms the precept of national integration, whereby all political, economic and social sectors can participate in the government, in order to safeguard and strengthen the Honduran nation and make viable its progress based on political stability and national reconciliation. We thus hope that all people, regardless of ideology or party, can fully and enthusiastically take part in the war on poverty, underdevelopment and dependency, which is the priority goal of our government program.

In order to again make the goals and principles of national unity a reality, the National Party is prepared to completely eliminate the system of buddyism or the prevalence of sectarian partisanship in the selection of high-level public officials. These officials will be selected exclusively on the basis of their merits and capabilities and their willingness to comply with the essential principles from which the government program draws its inspiration.

2.2 The Social Function of the Armed Forces

Under the National Party's government program, the Armed Forces in peacetime must effectively discharge their social function to further the great economic and social transformations that the nation requires. The Armed Forces of Honduras will continue to be the basic bastion for the defense and territorial integrity of the republic and to guarantee mutual respect among states. Their function under the constitutional government will, however, extend far beyond a purely defensive military scope. They will fulfill their great responsibility as a combat unit in the war on poverty, underdevelopment and national dependence.

2.3 A New Constitution of the Republic

The National Party will struggle to see to it that the principles on which its government program is based are reflected in the new constitution of the Republic of Honduras, which it will be a priority task of the National Constitutional Assembly to draw up:

a) Absolute respect for the basic rights of the human person, including the rights of freedom, ownership and equality of opportunity for all Hondurans in the economic, social and political fields. Among these human rights the following will receive special attention:

--The inalienable right to freedom and ownership in keeping with the concept of social function;

--The right to a proper basic diet;

--The right to an education up to the grades and levels determined by individual capabilities and ambitions;

--The right to minimum indispensable conditions for assuring the health and well-being of the family;

--The right to decent housing;

--The irrevocable right to improve working conditions and family income;

--The inviolable right to participate actively in the political, economic and social life of the nation.

b) The maintenance and strengthening of the free enterprise system as a basic element in a democratic system of government;

c) The social function of property as a conditioning factor in the free enterprise system and participatory democracy;

d) Strengthening of the state as an instrument for correcting social, economic and political injustices and as the main promoter of the creation of equal opportunities for all.

e) A mixed economy as the basic orientation of the economic system, in which state capital with a specific scope and clearly defined features will coexist with private sector capital and with joint, coordinated investments by the public and private sectors;

f) Ideological pluralism as an element in broadening the political spectrum;

g) A more just and equitable distribution of income as a government principle.

h) The new international economic order as a conditioning factor in our foreign economic relations.

i) Economic and social integration with Central American countries as a means of supporting the transformations of the country's economic and social structures, not as a purely commercial mechanism;

j) National integration as an administrative and government principle.

k) Mutual respect and nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states;

l) Full freedom of expression and religion;

m) The effective separation of the legislative, executive and judicial branches;

n) The defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the republic.

ñ) Executive branch succession;

o) The social function of the Armed Forces as a strategic element of support for the economic and social transformation of the country.

III. The Revitalization of the Policy of Development and Social Change

The National Party of Honduras submits for the consideration of the Honduran people its government program, which is based on the

utilization of available natural, human and technological resources, while taking into account the characteristics of our economic, social and institutional structures. This in-depth analysis has enabled us to identify the planned efforts that must be exerted to achieve the socioeconomic development that the National Party of Honduras aspires to attain. The National Party's development effort necessarily entails specific modifications in legal, administrative and institutional matters, as well as in basic facets of the economy, such as production, jobs, investment, foreign trade, income distribution, the regionalization of economic activity and the incorporation of new economic sectors into the country's production activities.

The National Party of Honduras, aware of its historic responsibility, is prepared to reorient the national economy, in order to go beyond the changes that have occurred in the past, which have not been sufficient to eradicate the conditions of underdevelopment and social injustice that still exist, while endeavoring at all times to raise the income level and enhance the quality of life of the people, especially those who live in unprivileged conditions in rural areas and in the cities.

The country's economic development will be based on the growth of its economy as an indispensable condition. However, its socioeconomic objectives transcend a mere expansion of the machinery of production, inasmuch as development implies a steady redistribution of income, a permanent improvement in the people's living conditions and the transformation of the country's institutions and socioeconomic activities.

Moreover, the country's natural and financial resources should be used to steadily benefit Honduran society. They must be managed with a nationalistic political approach, without jeopardizing growing trade with friendly countries and use of external resources needed to round out the domestic efforts in savings and technology that our development demands, resources that should be tailored to the country's realities.

Without upsetting the balance that must exist in development efforts, the economic and social development policy of the National Party of Honduras will have as its priority the welfare of our citizens, by seeking to raise their incomes and enhance their living conditions, especially of those strata of the population in the countryside and the city that are suffering the hardship of social and economic disenfranchisement.

It is up to all citizens to put forth the efforts to carry out the government program. This is why the National Party of Honduras will exert specific efforts to achieve true social participation so that

the national community as a whole can be the main agent in determining its own destiny. In this regard, the National Party will make the government fulfill its proper role in dynamically and decisively guiding the nation's social and economic development.

For its part, the private sector will continue to play its major role and will be promoted by the public sector so that it can achieve its goals in investment and projects. Its participation is indispensable in proposing and carrying out new directions and changes in the development of Honduras, in order to overcome the economy's past trends, which, if maintained, would unquestionably lead to a situation of intolerable violence and economic, social and political instability.

3.1 Economic Policy

The National Party of Honduras will seek rapid and sustained growth of domestic production. This will be achieved through the rational development of existing natural resources, whether agricultural, fishing, forestry, mining or tourist, thus guaranteeing the continuity of their utilization and management.

The National Party of Honduras will insure that the basic needs of the Honduran people, mainly food and nutrition, will be met. In this connection, it will promote a just and equitable distribution of income. The country's economic growth must in every way maximize the national economy's capability of generating productive jobs, inasmuch as jobs are one of the key, indispensable elements in the nation's comprehensive development.

The government program of the National Party of Honduras also intends to substantially boost Honduran exports both to Central American markets and to the world market. It will thus seek to reduce the external vulnerability of the economy and to maximize national benefits and foreign exchange earnings.

It is quite clear that the objectives of the government program of the National Party of Honduras are carefully interrelated, so that the efforts to develop the economy are comprehensive, not independent, in a bid to achieve an economic balance between strictly economic and production efforts and the efforts exerted in the social sphere.

3.2 Basic Elements of Economic Policy

A series of basic measures must be taken to steadily achieve the objectives that the economic policy of the National Party of Honduras aims at. The following are the basic elements of these specific measures:

a/ Income Distribution

Income distribution policy must have economic and social goals. Its basic purpose is to strengthen the Honduran economy by seeking to eliminate the condition of underdevelopment of many population groups that are mired in a subsistence economy detached from the country's development. The government program of the National Party of Honduras aims ultimately at eliminating social and economic disenfranchisement and extreme poverty.

To achieve its goals, the great National Party of Honduras will seek whatever means are necessary to insure increased income for Hondurans, in order to enhance their consumption and living conditions. It will seek permanent effects, not short-term, strictly monetary results, most of which are eroded by price increases.

Therefore, an increase in jobs and the elimination of unemployment and underemployment are extremely important elements in boosting current productivity levels and enabling the underprivileged to secure sufficient income to satisfy their needs.

The Agrarian Reform is a major factor in improving the present and future income distribution for peasant farmers, as well as a valuable tool for specifically transforming both the supply of and the demand for consumer goods and for boosting productivity and invigorating the economy.

As far as income redistribution is concerned, the government program stresses the access of the population to basic and technical education, to a substantial improvement in health care services and to reasonable housing conditions in keeping with respect for the human person. It also calls for an in-depth revision of the current Minimum Wage Law and of other conditions for wage-earners in order to insure a just and equitable relationship between capital and labor and to improve the living conditions of Honduran workers.

b/ Effective Intensification of the Agrarian Reform Process

The main conditions that the National Party of Honduras is prepared to combat with every means at its disposal are the extreme poverty of landless peasant farmers, of disenfranchised peasant farmers, of the men, women and children who have made agriculture their only source of family survival, and the unjust distribution of the land that is still an element of discord in the countryside.

In order to accomplish these objectives, the National Party pledges:

i) To appropriate the unproductive large landed estates that, under the Agrarian Reform Law, are not fulfilling their social function and can therefore be appropriated to benefit poor and landless peasant farmers, who will be awarded sufficient land under arrangements that will ensure its most efficient development and the optimum utilization of state resources;

ii) To channel state resources so that the entire government can participate in a harmonious and coordinated manner in the great task of transforming Honduran agriculture economically and socially;

iii) To assign top priority to the development of the poor segment of Honduran agriculture and to the cooperatives, peasant farmer partnerships and other peasant farmer organizations that benefit from the agrarian reform process;

iv) To adopt specific measures to end foreign dependence, especially in the fields of energy, mining and other natural resources, all of the benefits of which should revert to the Honduran people.

c) Farm and Forestry Sectors as Priorities under the Government Program

The government program taps the farm and forestry sectors as top priorities within the framework of Honduran economic activity, and therefore they will receive wide-ranging promotion and support from the public sector to hasten the achievement of many of the economic objectives that the National Party of Honduras intends to accomplish.

i) Agricultural sector

Government efforts will aim at boosting and diversifying the output of the agricultural sector in order to satisfy domestic demand, increase the income of peasant farmers in general, step up exports of national farm products and endeavor in every way to create productive jobs and enhance productivity per worker. We will ultimately seek to integrate peasant farmers into the country's economic, political, social and cultural life, while making them the main agents of their own development and well-being.

The expansion of the agricultural sector will be based on: both the external market and the rise in internal demand, concentrated efforts in the regions with great agricultural and agroindustrial potential in which heavy investments in infrastructure have been made, promotion by and dynamic participation of the state, private sector investment in and promotion of agriculture, with whatever incentives

are necessary, furnishing peasant farmer families with undeveloped land, whether nationally, communally or privately owned, and, the establishment of comprehensive rural development programs in regions of lesser agricultural potential in order to combat extreme poverty.

The government program of the National Party of Honduras will promote a specific Honduran farm development policy to transform the agricultural sector into an effective and dynamic sector in which various forms of business organization can develop democratically: individual enterprises, cooperatives, partnerships and other kinds of peasant or business associations. The state must foster them all, without discrimination, but especially the peasant farmers who suffer from extreme poverty and the most degrading, thoroughgoing disenfranchisement.

--Priority Allocation of State Resources to the "Priority Social Interest Sector"

As an indispensable complement to the intensification of the agrarian reform process, the National Party of Honduras declares as a "priority social interest sector" the entire peasant farmer population that subsists on family farms of fewer than 20 manzanas (1 manzana=about 1.7 acres). What this declaration specifically means is that the technical, administrative and financial resources of the state will be channeled as a top priority into this sector of the Honduran economy, in which almost 1.5 million Hondurans, including 400,000 children under age 10 and about 25,000 disabled persons, subsist in extreme poverty.

The specific measures that the National Party is calling for to take care of this sector (the measures are expanded upon later as part of the essential commitments of the program) include clear-cut policies to boost the real income of peasant families, to improve working conditions in the countryside, to improve health, nutrition and housing conditions, and to provide primary school education that is in keeping with the real needs of the Honduran economy and society, as well as adult literacy programs for as many people as possible who depend on this sector for the survival of their families.

(i) Forestry sector

A thorough study of domestic conditions, especially in connection with Honduras's forests, tells us that half of our territory is covered by hardwood and pine forests, even though in the past more than 2.5 million hectares were destroyed through irrational development. In any case, the country has an enormous potential that has not yet been fully tapped but whose economic importance represents "Honduras's petroleum."

In view of this, the government program provides that the future administration will carefully and properly manage the forestry sector, which it regards as one of the pillars for the country's agro-industrial development. The National Party policy for properly managing and rationally developing our forests will pave the way for a sizable increase in national output, access to the international market for products derived from conifers and broad-leaved trees, the generation of a considerable number of jobs and the enhancement of the living standard of the Honduranos who depend on forest development.

The core of the forest development program will be a specific and clear-cut forest social development program, which will constitute the backbone of the process of industrializing the sector. The program must spell out what kind of participation will be accorded to the peasants who work in activities directly related to forest development, as well as in secondary and indirect activities.

During the forthcoming term of the national integration government the National Party aspires to go far beyond the elementary stage that forest development is at in our country and to begin a decisive stage in which the ruthless felling of trees and the resulting enormous waste are done away with. We are going to resolutely prevent the destruction of our forest assets, through specific programs of protection, management and reforestation. We will cancel improper permits and spur the diversification of production to obtain different products with good markets and excellent prices.

During the next National Party administration the Honduran people will see how new protected areas of conifers and hardwoods are going to be set up, they will see how our hydrographic basins will be protected and they will witness the creative stimulus of its agro-industrial-forestry development program, which includes the major projects devised several decades ago and still in the decision-making process.

d) Industrialization Policy

The government program of the National Party of Honduras calls for a new stage in the process of industrializing the country. This stage will be based not on the past arrangement of boosting industrial output at any cost and sacrifice, but on the utilization of the nation's existing natural resources, be they agricultural, forest, fishing, mining, water or tourist.

Of particular importance will be the development of agroindustrial and forestry projects, a policy consistent with the identification of priority economic sectors. The processing of the inputs from the countryside, livestock, forestry and fishing will enable the economy

to achieve high ratios of added value and to start off on a genuine process of industrialization.

The industrialization policy through which state and private sector activities will be channeled will be complemented by active promotion of such development through the National Investment Corporation and the Forestry Development Corporation. These institutions must channel state credit to finance the priority projects that are set up through state or private mechanisms.

Our government program will attach special importance to the sub-sector of small and medium industry and handicrafts, inasmuch as 70 percent of the jobs in the manufacturing sector are concentrated here. By bolstering government institutions and trade union and worker organizations, we will seek to step up the transformation of the industrial sector into a dynamic force that will help to speed up the progress of the entire country.

During the National Party administration we will create the necessary mechanisms to bring industrialization to rural areas by setting up a program to incorporate suitable technology and make comprehensive use of the existing resources in the various regions of Honduras. The training of our peasant farmers in the use of tools and equipment tailored to our realities will have the highest priority under this program.

Lastly, the industrialization of the country that the National Party government will foster also includes the development of basic or strategic industries. These industries can bring about a diversification that will enable us to export manufactured goods to outside markets, to integrate the sector technologically and to create major amounts of direct jobs, with the resulting benefits through the distribution of income in the form of wages.

c) Policy to Develop New Economic Sectors

The government program that the National Party of Honduras is going to pursue aims at broadening the economy beyond its traditional economic sectors by bringing the production activities of three new economic sectors, mining, fishing and tourism, within the framework of state political decision-making. We are going to organize, both institutionally and commercially, these three new areas of jobs and growth for Honduras.

We are planning to reactivate mining activities and develop them as a source of income and permanent jobs and as a foundation for the industrial processing of existing resources. Our actions must aim at

the rational development of mineral deposits, through prospecting, exploration and the identification and promotion of mining projects. This policy includes the institutional strengthening of the public sector either by expanding existing state agencies or by creating appropriate new ones.

We are also planning to decisively develop the country's maritime and fishing resources. To this end we are scheduling programs and projects to rationally develop both ocean and coastal fishing. Programs for small-scale fishing must also be established to help the low-income families that live off maritime products. We must in all cases seek the highest value added for the national economy and at the same time complement the diet of Hondurans both along the coasts and in the interior.

The government program also calls for the incorporation of tourism activities into state political decision-making. The country has major tourist resources in the form of beaches, fishing areas and archeological sites that Hondurans have not fully developed. Therefore, the National Party of Honduras intends to tap these resources and place them in service to our citizens in general.

During its administration the National Party of Honduras intends to lay the groundwork that will foster and guide its development. On the one hand, it will seek to bolster the sector institutionally and, on the other, it will promote public and private investment through incentives, credits and tax measures. We will also select priority sites for tourism development and spur national and regional tourism, without jeopardizing the interests represented by the major influxes of foreign tourists desiring long stays.

f) Policy to Develop Our Physical-Economic Infrastructure

The government program seeks to execute a series of physical infrastructure projects to support the socioeconomic accomplishments of the party while in government. Therefore, its policy in these fields will be as follows:

.) Highways

We will set up construction programs for highways and access roads that will link production areas with main highways, so that industrial, farm, forest, mining or fishing products have access to markets and consumption centers. Thus, high priority must be given to highways and roads that link up valleys under full basic grain production, coffee-growing zones, timber and forest development areas, mining zones to be developed and coastal areas outfitted for small- or large-scale fishing.

This policy of the National Party to establish an extensive network of rural and local access roads is going to resolve once and for all the physical isolation that most of the Honduran people have lived in for decades.

The National Party of Honduras proposes to put an end to the privileges that urban areas have had in regard to highways to the detriment of the country's forgotten rural areas. We are going to stop building luxurious, paved superhighways that are barely profitable for the economy and construct more than 7,500 kilometers of access roads linking the municipalities and towns that produce for Honduras.

(b) Irrigation and drainage

The comprehensive development programs that the National Party of Honduras will promote in various regions of the country must include the development of thousands of hectares of irrigable land for public and private crop growing ventures.

The country's current irrigation and drainage facilities cover barely 5 percent of its total irrigable area, which is some 450,000 hectares. Irrigation systems are concentrated along the northern coast and in Choluteca, where sugar cane and bananas are grown. There are serious problems in the central and western zones and along the border with El Salvador.

In view of this situation, the government program calls for an irrigation program that will improve the crops and, therefore, the living conditions of peasant farmers in rural areas.

(c) Electric power

The current distribution of electric power consumption shows us that most electric power is used residentially, commercially and industrially, that consumption is high in urban centers and that governmental and municipal consumption in rural areas accounts for five percent of overall domestic use.

In light of this, the government program of the National Party of Honduras calls for the intensification of rural electrification programs, especially for areas that produce goods and services, basic grains and exports.

In addition, during its term in government the National Party of Honduras will uphold the current international commitments for projects costing more than 3 million lempiras, in order to provide the country with the electric power that it needs for its development. It will stress, however, that these projects must specifically benefit the towns and villages of rural Honduras.

g) Restructuring and Modernization of the Public Sector

In order to enable the state to accomplish the program's goals, the public sector will undergo an in-depth restructuring. The principal steps include substantial revisions of the functions assigned to the various ministries, so that all due priority can be given to the underprivileged farm sectors, as well as the necessary modifications in the functions and powers of the state's decentralized institutions, so that they can fully comply with the basic principles of the program. In addition to the changes that have already been mentioned for other areas, the following are particularly important: The restructuring of the Natural Resources Ministry, which will become a Ministry of Agricultural and Livestock Development; the restructuring of the National Development Bank, which will become an Agricultural and Livestock Development Corporation; the elimination of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and its replacement by the Honduran Tourism Corporation; the restructuring of the General Directorate of Statistics and Census, which will become a National Computation and Statistics Center; the resulting conversion of the Economy Ministry into an Industry and Commerce Ministry; the creation of the Superintendency of Commercial Associations; and the issuance of basic modern legislation in the area of procedure and administration, safeguarding of the family, regulating monopolies and the abuse of concentrated economic power, and the fostering of participatory democracy. Also, the office of the constitutional president of the republic will be strengthened, and he will have the support of a group of high-level advisers to coordinate and execute the government program.

There will be an in-depth reassessment of existing tax arrangements, to ensure that the highest-income segments contribute proportionately to the great task of economic and social transformation that the National Party has set for itself as part of its goal of achieving a more just distribution of income.

In order to ensure the most efficient use of public funds and to guarantee that they are channeled strictly towards the goals of the government program, the National Party will advocate a substantial overhaul of budget policy and economic and social planning. With these goals in mind, the Superior Council of Economic Planning, as an advisory body to the presidency of the republic, will be made a Superior Council of Planning and Budget. It will be in charge of all the state budgetary affairs that currently come under the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit. The council will be chaired by the constitutional president of the republic and will comprise the business, labor, peasant and political sectors. In order to guarantee a suitable distribution and use of budget funds, minimum

percentages of the budget will also be allocated to priority government programs, the agrarian reform in particular, to the development of the poorest farm sector and to education, health and housing. In order to meet the requirements of the government program, the efficiency and productivity, not the number, of public employees will be increased. This will cut short the swelling of the government bureaucracy, and available manpower and funds will be better utilized.

New public jobs will be created only in the areas of education, health care, housing, rural development and other productive sectors, and just enough to insure that the program's goals are accomplished. Honesty and the most uncompromising austerity in the management of the people's funds will be the guiding principles of the administration of the National Party.

IV. Social Development Policy

The government program of the National Party of Honduras for the forthcoming constitutional term calls for an ambitious social development policy that is going to cope with the heavy demands stemming from the constant rise in the population, with its characteristics of high rates of fertility, birth and mortality (mainly infant), these being problems that mainly affect the country's rural areas. This policy also calls for the establishment of necessary mechanisms and the utilization of existing ones to bring large population groups into the work force, groups that require jobs, wages and training.

The National Party of Honduras feels that it is a basic state duty to satisfy the social demands of the Honduran people, and it is determined to make use of all of the public sector's mechanisms to minimize indecent housing, unsanitary conditions, unemployment and underemployment, the weakening of the family unit, and the neglect of women and their children. These chronic ills have been thwarting the economic, social, political and cultural development of the Honduran people.

Therefore, the government program for the next presidential term includes the following basic points in its social development policy:

a) A reduction in unemployment and underemployment;

b) Bolstering state services designed to meet the needs of the people, mainly children and workers;

c) The establishment of programs to strengthen the family and the home environment;

e) The establishment of a Community Development Program to boost the participation of the society both in the tasks of development and the benefits derived from it.

f) Undertaking social rehabilitation programs, aimed especially at youths in abnormal situations.

f) Enacting pertinent laws and legal provisions and reviewing existing ones, to protect the family, minors and women, with special emphasis on the country's rural areas, and

g) The establishment of programs through the National Social Welfare Board to enhance the participation of women in the country's development process.

In its government program the National Party of Honduras will focus its efforts on securing the maximum benefit for the Honduran people from the resources that the state invests in social sectors, while devoting a good part of these efforts to resolving the biggest problems of rural areas and the underprivileged neighborhoods of cities.

4.1 Priority Sectors of Social Development

The government program views the following as priority sectors of the country's social development:

a) Education

During its term of government the National Party of Honduras, with the cooperation of all Hondurans, intends to minimize illiteracy in the countryside and the city. To this end:

a) The Public Education Ministry will be allocated the necessary budget resources to substantially boost the capacity of primary schools throughout the country, in order to accommodate as many children as possible.

b) There will be an in-depth reform of primary school education in rural areas so that it meets the real needs of rural children and lays the instructional groundwork that children will need to become productive members of the family or to continue their secondary school and university studies if they so desire.

c) A widespread program will be set up to prepare and distribute primary school texts that meet the needs of rural children. There will also be a national book program so that the works of Honduran authors reach Honduran children.

d) The mass adult literacy program will be intensified, to which end

--The country's existing public and private organizations will be asked to cooperate with their own methods and systems in teaching those over 10 years of age how to read and write;

--The necessary legal provisions will be issued to guarantee the performance of the obligatory social service in the area of literacy training;

e) Youth Literacy Brigades will be organized so that secondary school graduates can teach children and adults how to read and write over the necessary period of time. Service in the brigades for the minimum established period will also be a requirement for graduation from secondary school;

f) University Literacy Brigades will be set up so that university students can take part in the literacy drive for the established periods. Participation in the brigades will be a requirement for graduation;

g) Primary school teachers must devote a month a year of their available time to the Teachers Literacy Brigades, otherwise, they will not be permitted to teach;

h) National private enterprise, especially companies owned by the mass media, must contribute a minimum amount of time, which will be determined, to the literacy drive within the framework of the organization that the state establishes for this purpose;

i) The financial resources of the Public Education Ministry will be bolstered to ensure that the goals of the program in this area are realized.

II Goals

In accordance with our Declaration of Principles and Goals of the National Party and the reforms decree issued by the party's Constitutional Assembly on 27 December 1971, in which it "expresses its ongoing concern for the health of persons residing in our country," and responding in the context of that declaration of principles, the following is a summary of our objectives and measures.

Objectives

Realizing that the problem of the health of Hondurans is one of the barriers that have prevented them from rising to more acceptable levels of human development and that to some degree a vicious circle has been

created between their economic and cultural underdevelopment and their state of health, the National Party will approach the problem not on the basis of individual private health care but by including the health problem in a comprehensive strategy.

Measures

1. The health problem will be approached within a context that we will call the scar of the syndrome of underdevelopment, whose symptomatology includes the consequences of the poverty with which the nation is struggling, its lack of education and its lack of health care.

2. It is the state's responsibility to provide Hondurans an acceptable level of health care so that they can become productive and by generating income improve, within the context of directed education, the parameters of preventive medicine at their disposal, to safeguard their families and participate in community life with rights and principles.

3. The Public Health Ministry will be restructured to provide both the necessary planning and the logistic support so that the various levels of medical care can discharge their functions.

4. The National Party realizes that it must lend its support to the two major fields of medicine: preventive and curative. As far as the former is concerned, the National Party proposes:

4.1 To provide drinking water systems to Honduran towns, regardless of their size, stressing that it cannot cease so that there are still population groups without this vital liquid.

4.2 To bolster the Waste Water Disposal Program by spurring its development and supporting rural drives to construct latrines. Urban centers will receive the necessary support to improve and expand their facilities.

4.3 To step up the Expanded Vaccination Program both to cover the vulnerable infant population and to protect adults against adult diseases that can be prevented by immunization.

4.4 Curative Services

4.4.1 In the field of curative medicine, the network of hospitals and health care centers will be utilized while expanding coverage towards rural and underprivileged peripheral urban areas. To achieve this goal, we will strengthen regional and area hospitals through proper programming of their activities and the development of better administrative procedures to make more efficient use of resources and improve the quality of medical care.

4.2.2 The National Party realizes that health care services suffer from two serious problems:

4.2.2.1 A lack of timely supplies of medical-surgical equipment and medicines;

4.2.2.2 A lack of administrative capacity to handle them.

To resolve the above problems, the National Party intends:

1. To foster the creation of a medical-surgical supplies and medicines industry. This will be done either through private or public enterprise or a combination thereof. This will create inventories of these items to meet the basic needs of health care services.

2. To establish a Hospital Administration School that will train executives at all levels to run such services. The standards and procedures governing their functions will also be established.

3. The National Party realizes that no health care program can be carried out without trained manpower and, therefore, it will set up on-the-job training programs throughout the country and, when necessary, will send Honduran professionals and technicians to other countries to acquire the knowledge that they cannot be given in our country.

4. The National Party realizes that medical resources cannot be put under a system of socialized medicine if the rest of the system is capitalist. Therefore, it will see to it that medical and para-medical personnel in the latter system receive the remuneration that they require to devote themselves full-time to the institution that they serve.

The Nutritional Problem

The National Party regards this as a social problem, not a disease. Therefore, not only must the undernourished be taken care of in hospitals, but the problem must be tackled comprehensively, in other words, the other parts of the system must contribute to a solution.

Education, the lack of which is largely responsible for the problem at hand, must be systematically supported so that Honduran can have a proper diet with the economic resources that their families possess and that the National Party will try to boost in its overall efforts to eliminate poverty from our country.

The National Party is aware that an increase in national output is fundamental and that the root of the problems besetting the Honduran people is the lack of capacity to boost farm production.

Poor health is linked to the formula "poor production-poverty." Therefore, the National Party will carry out both an agrarian and an agricultural revolution and will support its planning with health care programs aimed at strengthening the inter-sector institutions that are needed for their development.

Thus, by boosting production, we will help to eliminate poverty, and hence the health of Hondurans will improve.

Lastly, the National Party acknowledges that the precarious state of health of the Honduran people is closely tied to poverty and it therefore concludes that the way to improve their health is by pursuing the same strategy as in the battle against poverty.

j) Rural Housing and Underprivileged Neighborhoods

A massive urban and rural housing construction program will be formulated to improve the living conditions of rural families and in underprivileged neighborhoods, and the necessary financial resources will be secured for this purpose. The functions and powers of both the National Housing Institute and the National Housing Finance Agency will be consolidated in a single institution, the National Housing Corporation, to achieve these goals. The new National Housing Corporation will attend to priority housing needs both in rural and urban areas and will undertake an ambitious financing program to speed up the construction of housing for the poorest segments of our population and for the middle class. The Housing Development Fund will be set up.

The National Party will also take the most energetic measures to eliminate usurpatory levels and to regulate rents, especially for the lowest-income classes.

k) Revision of the Social Security System

In order to gradually extend social security benefits to the entire family of workers in the country's main urban and rural areas, the existing social security system will undergo an in-depth revision, including the functions and authorities of the Honduran Social Security Institute and of other institutions that perform functions in this field.

One of the main objectives of this revision will be to apply strict standards for the use of the funds allocated to social security, to guarantee that they are used for the specific purposes for which they are intended. The various social security benefits, both from state and private sector institutions, will also undergo an in-depth revision, especially in regard to the extent of coverage and their financing, and will be updated or extended, as appropriate.

e) Social Participation

The government program of the National Party of Honduras attaches fundamental importance to increasing the social participation of the various sectors of the country, especially the population groups that live in the most thoroughly underprivileged conditions and in extreme poverty, in the basic tasks of socioeconomic development, as well as in the benefits that such efforts will generate.

Therefore, the necessary mechanisms will be created to devise and plan the various forms of social participation. The basic tool, however, will be a community development program that will make use of existing organizations so that communities can absorb suitable technologies, boost production, enhance the productivity of the work force and, consequently, raise their standards of living.

f) Dynamic communication with the people

The National Party considers it essential to maintain dynamic, ongoing and effective communication between people and government. Thus, it has drawn up a program of dynamic communication with the people, whereby the government, using mobile project analysis and implementation teams, will visit all the municipalities in the republic in 48 communication drives that it will undertake in accordance with the municipal maps and classifications included in the government program. In order for communication between people and government to yield positive results, local government will be strengthened. Special attention will be given to city halls, so that they can play an increasing role as promoters of the community self-help programs that the state will foster to support the construction of schools, homes, health care and nutrition centers, roads, highways and irrigation projects.

(g) Incorporation of women into the Economic and Social Development Process

During its term the National Party will promote by every means at its disposal the enhancement of the dignity of Honduran women, mainly peasant and underprivileged women in the country's rural areas, so that they can achieve social equality and join in the great task of transforming the country and enjoy the benefits derived from development.

To this end, the government program calls for specific projects to promote the training of women, technical assistance and credit. These priority activities will be aimed at peasant women, younger women and single mothers. The projects will be designed to bring women into production activities in order to boost employment and income level and enhance their decision-making capability in the family and the community in general.

[illegible] Sports and Recreation

Sports and recreation are at present universally accepted as a "social fact" that cannot be overlooked, and thus the National Party will devote special attention to them.

Sports and recreation are a necessary element in ensuring the physical and mental well-being of the individual and in achieving a balanced lifestyle in a turbulent world. Sports and recreation develop man's abilities and enable him to effectively serve and improve society. They are a powerful factor in maintaining good health, constitute a good use of leisure time and help to counteract the emotional tensions of modern life and the vices that are currently the deplorable scourge of society: crime, alcoholism, drugs, etc.

For the above reasons, the National Party regards it as indispensable to develop sports and recreational activities rationally and scientifically and thus to draft a National Sports and Recreation Development Plan to be implemented by the forthcoming National Party administration.

The government program has established general and specific goals, stages of implementation and financing for this plan.

[illegible] An Independent Foreign Policy

The National Party recognizes that Honduras's international relations are set in a framework of economic, political and technological interdependence with the rest of the nations on the planet and it advocates, within this framework, a nationalist and independent foreign policy based on the principle of mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states. The National Party advocates the consolidation of the most cordial, friendly and fraternal relations with the countries of Central America.

[illegible] The Dispute with El Salvador

The National Party calls for the total, definitive and simultaneous resolution of the eight points proposed at the 13th Consultative Meeting of Foreign Relations Ministers of the OAS within these limits. It acknowledges that an indispensable requirement for the signing of a general peace treaty with El Salvador is a resolution of our border dispute to exhausting the procedure inherent in the mediation in which the two nations are engaged. With regard to the differences that still exist, it calls for the mandatory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice and the other procedures for a peaceful solution that are provided for in international law.

The National Party thus reaffirms its unwavering intention to achieve a just and satisfactory peace with El Salvador as soon as possible.

[illegible] The Central American Common Market

The National Party states that only when we have resolved our differences with El Salvador will our government engage in final negotiations to totally overhaul the Central American economic integration process so that it becomes a guarantee for social and economic development for the entire nation.

We wish to tell the Honduran people that any new integration model in which our country participates will deserve our total support, as long as it is a true instrument of development and does not block or thwart the specific steps towards economic and social change that the National Party has set for itself.

[illegible] Other foreign policy measures

The National Party advocates, among other steps:

—The establishment of diplomatic, economic and commercial relations with any country in the world, regardless of political ideology, as long as such relations are beneficial to the nation.

—The bolstering of our economic independence through active participation in the organizations of which we are members for the defense of our main exports, organizations such as the Union of Banana Exporting Countries, the International Coffee Agreement and the International Sugar Agreement, we will also pursue national and foreign policies to defend our forest and mining resources.

—As far as Latin America is concerned, the National Party will lend its full support to the Latin American Economic System while underscoring multilateral efforts to tackle the common problems of the region.

—In other international forums and organizations the National Party will pursue an independent policy and support proposals relating to the socioeconomic grievances of the developing countries.

—The government program of the National Party calls for the acquisition of massive funds from friendly nations and international institutions to satisfy our people's needs in terms of the agrarian reform, housing, education and health care. Nevertheless, we will secure these funds from the least costly sources possible, funds which do not have strings attached that are unacceptable to the Honduran people.

VI. Other Complementary Aspects of the Government Program

We have also given our attention to the following other aspects that will take on importance during the implementation of the government program in the forthcoming constitutional term:

6.1 Specific measures to combat inflation

The National Party recognizes that the best methods for effectively combating inflation are to boost output and productivity, to regulate monopolies and middlemen abuses and to promote more jobs and higher real income for rural and urban workers. In addition to these general measures, the following specific steps will help to dampen the impact of inflation on the low-income population of Honduras:

a) The creation of the National Basic Commodities Corporation as a logical outgrowth of the increase and expansion of the current [illegible] extension warehouse centers. This will be a decentralized state agency that will receive substantial state aid in selling basic grains and other basic items, if necessary, at subsidized prices. The scope of the corporation will be broadened significantly so that it functions as an effective instrument in eradicating market profiteers and speculators.

b) Allocation of the necessary funds to the Honduran Agricultural Marketing Institute so that it can sharply raise the prices at which it buys basic grains from the peasant farmers in the poorest segment of Honduran farming and in the reformed segment, in order to boost their real purchasing power and stimulate higher production.

c) Revision of the current Minimum Wage Law, with input from the nation's business and labor, with an eye towards setting higher wage levels and fostering harmonious relations between capital and labor, while insuring the sound performance of the national economy.

d) An income tax exemption for natural persons with an annual income of less than 15,000 lempiras, and doubling current family deductions to boost the real income of the poor and middle classes.

6.2 The new role of physical and spatial planning: the opening of a new economic frontier

The National Party realizes that its government program entails the economic, institutional, social and political transformation of the country and the abandonment of the old methods of approaching the development of Honduran society. The government program of the next constitutional term marks the beginning of a new economic frontier for our country's future.

In this regard, the role of socioeconomic planning will have to be expanded into the interior regions of our country, especially in connection with economic, social and cultural activities. This development planning must be based on the existing human and natural resources in each region, the basic projects required and the funds needed to build them.

During the upcoming constitutional term the National Party will establish comprehensive development projects and programs both in the northeastern, eastern and southeastern regions to extend our current economic frontier, boost national output and make possible the most rational and concentrated use of available funds, in order to achieve the major objectives described in Section III.

The National Party is also aware of the disorderly growth of the centers that make up the country's urban centers and some of its rural areas. Therefore, it considers it an urgent necessity to include in its government program legal steps and mechanisms to link the production sectors of agriculture, forestry, industry and trade with public services, which requires orderly growth in urban centers and rural areas.

4.1 Human Resources Development

The great effort involved in leading the country towards a new stage in its development requires, above all, the human element, because man is the ultimate beneficiary of development and the main factor in achieving it. Thus, the government program of the National Party of Honduras attaches fundamental importance to the training and development of the human resources needed for this progress.

To this end it will provide for the necessary measures to make use of all of the public sector's mechanisms, its specialized agencies in particular, to train and develop both the new manpower that will be joining the work force every year and the manpower that is under-employed and poorly trained. This effort must encompass both low-middle workers, called workers, middle-level executives and the upper-level directors of projects and enterprises.

These programs must focus particularly on rural areas and under-privileged city neighborhoods.

4.2 The role of international cooperation

In order to achieve the growth goals of its government program, the National Party will make rational use of the foreign and domestic resources that are strictly necessary. It will also take the essential steps to develop cooperation programs with international and regional organizations and with friendly countries and other organizations that the government deems beneficial to our national interests.

[redacted]

[redacted] VISIT

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 29 Jan 82 p 7

[Text] The Guatemalan press reported at the end of last week that the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs William Bowdler came to Central America for the very specific purpose of blocking the possibility of military aid to guerrillas who are fighting against the reformist government of El Salvador.

According to Guatemala City news media, Bowdler is apparently trying to stretch a "security cordon" around that small and explosive country in order to avoid a repeat of what happened in Nicaragua. In that instance, Costa Rica allowed Sandinists into its territory and thus became a decisive factor in the fall of the Somoza family.

With this goal in mind, U.S. American official reportedly asked the Guatemalan and Honduran governments to set up controls along their borders with El Salvador so as to prevent Nicaraguan and Guatemalan guerrillas from crossing over to reinforce extremist groups that have taken up arms against the Salvadoran Revolutionary Junta.

While the Guatemalan newspapers were making these assertions, and the governments were maintaining strict silence, dispatches arrived from Washington indicating that the U.S. Government is willing to lend all support necessary to the moderate junta, which is facing pressure from the ultra-right and the ultra-left. The purpose of the support is not just the survival of the junta, but also, fundamentally, the ability to carry out its programs of economic, political and social reform.

Nevertheless, the situation is very confusing. There are daily reports of new acts of violence and death. According to dispatches from AP [illegible], between 22 and 28 January there were no less than 32 deaths and more than [illegible] injuries.

In a statement regarding the recent incidents, the government maintained that "despite the struggle that is being waged to destabilize the junta, we will carry out the far-reaching reforms that this country needs."

[redacted]

For its part, the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), which is the political arm of the moderate government, stated that one of the worst problems plaguing the country is the fact that there are three large armies.

"The country has a rightist army, a leftist army, and the other one, which is the regular army," stated Napoleon Duarte, a Christian Democratic leader.

Now, the military has just stated to declare that the two extremist armed groups are illegal, the army--through Col Adolfo Arnoldo Majano--that "in this country only the armed forces can possess arms," which has been interpreted locally as an announcement that the military is determined to break up the paramilitary bands of Communists and Fascists.

What is the logical conclusion that must be drawn from the Guatemalan press revelations regarding the role that super-diplomat William Bowdler is playing in Central America--this time?

The first thing is that, apparently, the White House and the State Department have given up their innocent illusion of foreign policy which painted all those fighting against a dictatorship as self-sacrificing, philanthropic idealists.

The second conclusion is that the Americans have come to realize that the growing danger that Soviet totalitarianism will absolutely dominate Nicaragua is proof that it was a mistake to conspire against Somoza without having a democratic alternative in the process. It also brings to light how very near-sighted the Americans have been regarding the true role that Cuba plays in the Caribbean.

The third thing is that Washington has realized that totalitarian extremism is not interested in economic, social and political reforms, but in taking power. In El Salvador there is an attempt to transform society, but instead of supporting it, the Communists are trying to blow it to pieces.

The fourth and last conclusion is that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had such an impact on the American consciousness that the United States cannot avoid seeing the folly of sitting on its hands while observing extremists fighting against the established authority, unless it is willing to pay a very high short-term price.

In this manner, naivete has given way to realism. Now, albeit belatedly, Washington has begun a double-edged offensive: on the one hand, it is supporting democratic change and promoting the elimination of dictatorships; on the other hand, it is blocking extremists' continued attempts to bring down established governments, and to replace them with their own totalitarian dictatorships that most definitely violate human rights with even more cruelty than their predecessors (and incidentally, conspire against the United States in their obedience to the Soviet Union).

When the "human rights policy was born upon Carter's accession to the presidency, great hopes were kindled among the oppressed people of the world.

However, in practice this approach basically served to weaken authoritarian governments in such a manner that, lacking a democratic alternative, the countries went from having traditional dictatorships to having the modern, much more degrading red totalitarianism.

Now Washington is trying to rectify its policy, without at the same time returning to the erroneous policy of supporting tyranny.

Let us hope, for the sake of liberty, that it is not too late. . .

mvz
SD: 9010

SOMOZISTS TRIALS COULD LAST TWO YEARS

[Article] Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0130 GMT 16 Feb 80 PA

[Text] Companera Nora Astorga, special attorney general, has said that the trials of the Somozist criminals in the special courts will conclude within 12 months at the minimum and 24 months at the maximum. In the case of the imprisoned Somozists, state security has issued 70 release orders. In January, 33 sentences were issued. Here is companera Nora Astorga talking about these:

[Begin recording] [Question] How can you define revolutionary justice after the liberation of our people?

[Answer] The easiest way to define it is to note that for the first time in Nicaragua there will be trials dealing with all the crimes committed by somozism [words indistinct]. It is the first time there have been trials of these people, who in the past did whatever they chose. For the first time they will appear in court and they will be found guilty or innocent in accordance with their degree of responsibility.

[Question] Companera, a Colombian diplomat has said that the Somozist prisoners have no possibility of defending themselves. What can you say about this?

[Answer] You should ask the companeros of the courts, but I can give you my personal opinion. In both the law and at the trials the defense of the prisoner is [words indistinct]. The prisoners have the right to obtain lawyers [words indistinct].

[Question] How many Somozists have been released?

[Answer] Up to yesterday some 98 release orders have been issued. These were persons being investigated for alleged crimes, and the State Security Department found that there were no charges against them. [sentence indistinct]

[Question] Are there cases of Somozist prisoners who will be released in the next few days?

[Answer] The State Security Department (?has issued) some 70 release orders [passage indistinct].

[Question] In case of the acquittal of a prisoner, what considerations does the court bear in mind to release him?

[Answer] [words indistinct] I am not the court, I am the prosecutor.

[Question] How have the Nicaraguan people participated in making charges against the Somozist prisoners?

[Answer] The Nicaraguan people have acted very responsibly in this regard. We have received much evidence against the prisoners we are prosecuting. We have many eyewitnesses to the massacres. The people have participated in a very active way.

[Question] Have some Somozist prisoners appealed their sentences and have these been accepted?

[Answer] There have been appeals. I could not tell you exactly which verdicts have been reversed, but I understand they have been generally upheld.

[Question] At the rate the trials are going, when might they end?

[Answer] We expect to end these trials in 18-24 months.

[Passage indistinct] [end recording]

SO: 3010

ALFONSO ROBELO DISCUSSES REVOLUTION GOALS AT CDS MEETING

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 13 Dec 79 p 5

[Text] "The great element in the Nicaraguan Revolution is the people, that is, all sectors of the population," stated Companero Alfonso Robelo, member of the National Reconstruction Junta, during a dialog with the community of Ciudad Jardin, called together by the area's CDS [Sandinist Defense Committee].

Before starting the dialog, Comrade Robelo briefly described present circumstances and what revolutionary measures involve. He began his talk by pointing out the participation of youth, "that generation that gave itself completely to the liberation of Nicaragua."

The participation of women was outstanding too; it was really extraordinary, as was the participation of workers' and political groups, communications media, and certain important areas of private enterprise, all joined together in a single ideal. They made possible the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship.

An Egalitarian Nicaragua

The Popular Sandinist Army was created and judicial authority corrected because the Revolution is trying to forge a new society, Robelo noted. He said, "We want to achieve an egalitarian Nicaragua. We have to eliminate the immense and terrible differences between the city dweller and the man in the countryside. We want the efforts of labor, of the cotton cutter, of the construction worker, of all workers to be justly compensated. And when the government collects taxes, it will give all social benefits to the people," said Companero Robelo.

He noted that in the past the government was for only a minority, but today the shunted-aside majority has to be considered, given its place and the chance to participate in the Revolutionary Program. To achieve this, he added, "the new Nicaragua includes the uniting of all Nicaraguans and does not relegate any group to the sidelines."

A Call for Austerity

"Somoza left us mortgaged, and this is a very serious debt," Robelo said. "We have to examine every cent that is spent so that it is profitably employed," Companero Robelo explained. "To do this we Nicaraguans must clearly realize the position we are in."

He informed the townspeople present there that the government will have to develop austerity measures since foreign debt is calculated at 6,000 cordobas for every Nicaraguan, children included. Austerity means, Robelo said, unnecessary luxury items will not be imported; rather one will work to provide collective kinds of benefits such as improving transportation and fighting against unemployment.

Robelo pointed out that in 1980 1.2 billion cordobas will be spent on crude oil. Therefore, it is vitally important to put into effect a collective transportation service that will be available to all segments of the people.

9945
CSO: 4010

NON-FSLN MARXIST-LENINIST GROUPS ISSUE JOINT MANIFESTO

Managua EL PUEBLO in Spanish 18 Jan 80 pp 4-5

[Passages enclosed in slantlines in boldface in original]

[Text] Plan for economic recovery marks road to increased foreign debt.

Progress of socialism can not be based on "faith" of the masses in the FSLN [Sandinist Front for National Liberation], but on deeds.

The bourgeoisie and the landowners could take advantage of the people's hunger.

Unity of the exploited against the allied imperialist exploiters.

Unity against the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

Unity for worker-peasant power

The bourgeoisie joined the fight against Somoza because at a given moment the latter did not stick solely to the exploitation and oppression of the worker, peasant and popular masses, but in addition tried to appropriate sectors of the economy which belonged to that part of the bourgeoisie which opposed the regime because it believed that the latter way by its actions favoring the possibility that not only would the masses rise up against it, but that in addition they were forming a movement so radical that it would do away with the /private property/ of the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

The two reasons the bourgeoisie fought against Somozism were to prevent the latter from so infuriating the masses with its policies that they, in addition to wiping out Somozism, would also wipe out the rest of the ruling and exploiting classes; and because Somozism began to take over what this segment of the bourgeoisie owned and thus to increase its economic and political power.

If the factor which basically led the bourgeois to fight against Somozism was /the defense of private ownership and their anxiousness to prevent the possibility of a proletarian revolution/, this will also be its motivating factor in the period which has become known as the National Reconstruction. For the bourgeoisie, to reconstruct a country means to reconstruct capitalism, and not just any kind of capitalism, because this is not even decided by the bourgeoisie of this country, since it is a dependent bourgeoisie. Of course, the only form of capitalism which can be constructed on the present conditions and with the laws which rule the political economy at present in our country is /dependent capitalism/, the same as was constructed, developed and consolidated throughout the Somoza era. This has not made our country's bourgeoisie independent of American monopolies, for example, or of European monopolies, etc., and the investments which they make in the country are not divorced from the orientations given by these monopolies to their intermediate allies, i.e., the bourgeoisie of our country. The interest of the bourgeoisie in /defending capitalist private property/ is linked intimately with the reconstruction of /dependent capitalism/ in our country. The workers and peasants, in turn, participated in the anti-Somozist struggle not only because Somozism exercised a ferocious military dictatorship, but also because the latter, where the masses are concerned, defended, tooth and nail, /all private property/, and everything that attacked it had to be mercilessly punished. Any strike by the workers was suppressed, although it might be against a boss of the opposition party; any takeover of land by the peasants against the landholders (Somozist or its opposition) was suppressed at the costs of blood and fire by the Somozist Guard. For the workers and peasants, National Reconstruction means reconstructing the country on a new base and not on bases which are already rotten and inconsistent and which might, rather, prevent the reconstruction of the fatherland on an economically and politically independent base. Only the struggle for the construction of socialism and the construction of the same are guarantees of being able to build an independent fatherland, that the broad masses may satisfy their demands for profound changes and consequently, that the basic problems of food, unemployment, health, etc., may be solved; but above all, that the political power will be in the hands of the broad, armed masses of workers and peasants.

It is on this basis that we say that the interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the workers and peasants are not compatible and, on the contrary, are divided even among themselves.

Therefore let us consider that the present call for /national unity/ clearly and plainly means a great danger for the exploited and dispossessed masses of the country, since, as capitalism is being reconstructed, there are also too many restrictions which tend to stagnate the development and consolidation of the mass revolutionary movement, worker and popular, which, we believe, is the /only guarantee/ of profoundly advancing the revolution, just as it was the /only guarantee for defeating the Somoza dictatorship/.

In addition, the present Plan for Economic Recovery does not even allow the most remote possibility or prospect of a socialist revolution in this country; on the contrary, it points precisely to the capitalist way to reconstruction and a progressive foreign indebtedness as a result of a concept of reconstruction based on international loans, full guarantees for the bourgeois and the idea that the workers will work "without rest, without a schedule," as guerrilla Cdr William Ramirez said.

From the foregoing one may deduce two things: 1) that progress toward socialism, since it is not even outlined in the political and economic plans, remains supposedly subject to the /faith/ we have in the leadership of the FSLN that this step will finally be taken when that leadership deems it proper; and 2) that the present severe economic crisis, to which the current /Plan for Economic Recovery/ does not offer any in-depth solutions and which even in some areas only predicts and foresees future crisis and calamities, can be manipulated by the bourgeois for the purpose of squeezing many more and greater concessions (not only on the economic, but also on the political level) and for that reason, where the country's present leadership does not want to adopt this or that measure, it would exert pressure, even on the mass sectors, to obtain its goals. We say this because in the face of such problems as /hunger/, if there are no in-depth solutions, it can be a hotbed of permanent discontent which, if not handled carefully by the leftist organizations, can also be taken advantage of by the /Right/, or the /bourgeoisie and the landowners/, especially if the masses do not glimpse the possibility of progressing to the construction of a new economic system. With the shutting off of the possibility of constructing socialism, and the existing alternative of a capitalism in crisis, in which the bourgeois claims, in order to solve it, a greater and total participation in the political power at a moment when the true proletarian alternatives for socialism are not mature, the masses can be swayed by the bourgeoisie if the latter believe it will help achieve their ends; this is something real and objective, and we should now allow ourselves to be deceived by it.

It is grossly erroneous to strengthen the bourgeoisie economically and politically to the detriment of the strength and cohesion of the working masses; /in strengthening them, one strengthens the pro-imperialist, land-holder-bourgeois counterrevolution/.

The present /national unity/ to date has been translated only into unity of the FSLN with the country's bourgeoisie, since the workers, although it is true that they do not understand the matter clearly, see instinctively and with concern what is happening at present. This we can measure by the strengthening of worker organizations other than those directed by the FSLN and the bourgeoisie; it can also be measured by the fact, undeniable for any observer with average understanding, that the masses constantly proclaim the slogan, /"Workers and Peasants to Power!/"

that organizations declare themselves to be in /total/ disagreement with the present alliance known as /national unity/ under the terms which have characterized it to date, and about which we have set forth some points of view here. In addition, for us to join that /unity/ would not be an act of unity but rather one of opportunism and surrender, in that it goes /against our principles/. If it were a question of unity of the revolutionary organizations to fight against the bourgeoisie and the landholders, against imperialism and for the construction of socialism, this kind of /unity/ we would indeed accept immediately.

In opposition to the /national unity/ program, we are at this time drawing up a program which we will publish in great detail, but which in general gives strategic importance to the liquidation of monopolistic property and land ownership along with the struggle for worker control of production and for a Revolutionary Agrarian Reform as the only way of furthering the tasks of political and economic independence. The foregoing is one of the first steps to put us on the way to construction of a new economic system. Naturally it must be accompanied by the combined organizations of workers' power: /the Councils of Armed Workers and Peasants/.

This program also has an immediate content, which is that of guaranteeing, through the struggle of the masses, full protection of political and union organization, independence of the mass organizations with resp t to state power, defense of the political and class independence of the working class. /If the bourgeoisie has protection, the workers' and people's organizations outside the FSLN should also have it/, since in addition to what we stated immediately above, in our case we claim it as a 'right' acquired by having /taken up arms/ against the Somozist military dictatorship in the ranks of the Popular Anti-Somozist Militias (MILPAS), under the direction of /the Popular Action Movement, MAP/ (Marxist-Leninist organization).--/rights/ for which thousands of Nicaraguans also fought, /among them 50,000 dead/. The /unity/ we defend will be the /unity of all the exploited and oppressed/ to fight against the exploiters allied with /American imperialism/.

The /unity/ we defend will be the /unity of the workers and peasants against the bourgeoisie and the landowners/.

The /unity/ we defend will be the /unity of all those who fight for socialism/.

The unity we defend among the political parties will be /unity/ with parties and organizations which are willing to turn into a reality the slogan, /"Workers and Peasants to Power/".

/For unity against the bourgeoisie, the landowners and imperialism/!!

/For the Worker-Peasant Alliance/!!

/For unity in the struggle for socialism/!!

/Workers and Peasants to power/.

National Directorate of the MAP (Marxist-Leninist Organization),

Central Committee of the Workers' Front,

Central Committee, Marxist-Leninist Youth (JML).

8735
CSO: 3010

CST PROPAGANDISTS DEFINE ROLE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 12 Dec 79 p 3

[Text] In many parts of the world, there are still governments which have no regard whatever for the will of the working masses.

These kinds of governments do not represent the popular will; and in order to keep themselves in power, they resort to kidnapping, torture, assassination, psychological terror and a thousand maneuvers to defend the interests of imperialism, the dependent middle classes and dictatorial tyrants.

When the peoples, organized and led by their authentic vanguards, seize power by means of arms, a fundamental change is produced; truly representative governments are established, with a democratic-popular bias, which take into account and act on the basis of the aspirations of the great popular sectors, on the basis of the working majorities.

People's Power, Sandinista Power

The power of the people is nothing more than the workers and peasant farmers in the conducting of the political life of the country, the Revolution. To run the country, the working masses must organize themselves in accordance with the political necessities; such is the case with the CDS [Sandinist Defense Committee], the pillar of popular participation.

Similarly, the alliance of the workers and peasant farmers is the great base upon which the New Nicaragua is being built; the unity and organization of all workers is fundamental for the stimulation of the People's Democratic Revolution.

Methods of Popular Participation

In the management of the Revolution, the working people have criticism and self-criticism as a means of participation.

A revolution is a process of changes; it is, as its name indicates, a restructuring of the past into something new. Within every revolutionary process, the interests of the workers are at play: they are the new owners of power, and the exploiting classes are yesterday's owners.

At times inexperience in governing, or the maneuvers of the vestiges of the reactionary middle class, impact upon the situation in such a way that some mistakes are made.

The leaders of our Revolution are also human beings; they are not perfect machines. Our Revolution is quite young; and in 5 months of Revolution, it is not possible to erase 45 years of Somozist tyranny.

The only ones who do not make mistakes are those who never do anything.

We workers have the duty of speaking out on any situation which we consider to be wrong; we must use our mass organizations as media of expression. The CDS, CST [Sandinist Workers Federation], ATC [Agricultural Workers Association], AMN [Association of Nicaraguan Militants], 19 July Youth and the Association of Sandinist Children must be the media of expression for our concerns, closing off every avenue of action to the maneuvers devised by the enemies of the Revolution.

Criticism is not the pointing out of mistakes; criticism is the analysis of a specific situation, which points out its virtues and defects, its successes and failures but at the same time proposes alternative measures which may correct that which is bad or defective.

Criticism is only one part, the beginning; the right to criticize which we exercise, of which we make use, confers upon us the duty to be self-critical, forces us to ask ourselves: What have we contributed to the betterment of that situation?

The responsibility for the management of the Revolution is not only that of the National Directorate of the Sandinist Front; it is not a problem of individuals; it is not the responsibility of such-and-such a person; it is the responsibility of all of us, of all of us who in the midst of the liberating struggle, are winning the honorable distinction of being Revolutionary Sandinists.

The right to demand can only be on condition of giving, of offering the best of our knowledge, the best of our skills to the coming generations.

--With Criticism Channelized, Progress Will Be Rationalized!

Propaganda and Political Education Committee, CST

8143
CSO: 3010

PERUVIAN SOLIDARITY WITH SANDINIST REVOLUTION DESCRIBED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 14 Dec 79 p 4

[Interview with Companera Laura Madalengoitia, coordinator general of the Peruvian Committee for Solidarity with Nicaragua, date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Question] How has the solidarity of the Peruvian people with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people been manifested?

[Answer] A few weeks before the [Revolutionary] victory, a Peruvian newspaper mistakenly published a report that the Peruvian Committee for Solidarity with Nicaragua was recruiting volunteers to [illegible] fight in Nicaragua with the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front]. Since then, many hundreds of Peruvians have approached the committee to offer themselves as volunteers to fight beside the Sandinist army. This was quite impressive. Young adults of all ages were ready to offer their lives for the Sandinist cause. We had to explain to them that there were no plans along these lines, that there had been a mistake, that we were pursuing solidarity in other ways; however, that mistake served once again to indicate to what degree the Peruvian people felt solidarity with your struggle.

The solidarity of the people of our country has been manifested in several ways: mobilizations, various forms of specific political support and material support, despite the harsh economic crisis we are experiencing which is keeping us from collecting large sums of money; however, it is truly massive solidarity. When Companero Ernesto Cardenal visited Peru in 1978, several massive mobilizations of 30,000 to 40,000 persons were held.

This internationalist identification of the Peruvian people with the people of Nicaragua, and the Sandinist cause, did not begin today. Fifty years ago, Companero Esteban Pavletich, president of our committee and former fighter, was with the general of free men, Augusto C. Sandino. Since then, he has been the indefatigable defender of the Sandinist cause. In 1970, Companero Carlos Fonseca appointed him FSLN representative in Latin America. The Peruvian Committee was established in 1977, and Pavletich is still at work, overcoming his health problems, an indefatigable defender of the Sandinist Revolution.

[Question] Who are members of the solidarity committee?

[Answer] Our committee has sought to channelize and orient the Peruvian people's expressions of solidarity in the broadest manner possible and to activate and develop such expressions. Thus it includes a very considerable group of progressive and democratic personalities, political organizations of the most diverse orientations of the left, union organizations from the overall popular sectors, religious and artistic-cultural groups, newspaper organs, in short, the greatest representation of the Peruvian people.

8143
CSO: 3010

CARDENAL'S EUROPEAN TOUR TERMED QUICK BUT FRUITFUL

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 13 Dec 79 p 5

[Text] A quick, fruitful trip through several European countries as an invited guest has just been completed by Culture Minister Ernesto Cardenal, accompanied by ministry secretary Javier Arguello. They visited Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France and Spain.

Germany

In West Germany, Cardenal met with several political and church organizations, Protestant and Catholic, and with the chief of Berlin cultural affairs, Minister Von Donhannyi. Cardenal also met with Nobel Prizewinners Gunter Grass and Heinrich Boll.

Germany's Culture Ministry offered Cardenal paper valued at about $200,000 for book and magazine printing and financing for a crafts school. Cardenal also received a grass-roots gift reaching $100,000 besides seven scholarships for Nicaraguan youth who specialize in radio, television and film.

Austria

Cardenal visited Austria at the personal invitation of Chancellor Kreisky, who is also president of the Solidarity with Nicaragua Committee. Minister Cardenal received an offer of paper and construction of several children's libraries, including books and buildings, besides a collection that has been started to provide musical instruments.

In addition, the Austrians also offered to send several technicians to Nicaragua with all expenses paid to search for oil in our subsoil.

Switzerland

The Geneva Conservatory offered aid in the form of a shipment of musical instruments as well as several open scholarships for Nicaraguan youth to complete advanced studies in subjects not taught in Nicaragua. Moreover,

the World Council of Churches offered to work with the Indigenous University of Monimbo in an ambitious project that our ministry is trying to develop in which fields related to the special native characteristics of Nicaragua will be studied.

France

The French Minister of Culture, Mr Lecat, offered the gift of an open air theater which will be built in the destroyed area of Managua. Cardenal also met with highly placed UNESCO representatives.

Spain

In Barcelona, Cardenal met with members of the Catalonian Generalitat, who presented him with 1 million pesetas. Cardenal then met with the mayor of Madrid, Enrique Tierno Galvan, who will come to Managua soon since there is a project to make Managua and Madrid sister cities.

9945
CSO: 3010

ROBELO SPEECH URGES UNITY

PA220003 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1734 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA

[Speech by Junta Member Alfonso Robelo at a rally on the 46th anniversary of the murder of General Sandino, at Niquinohomo--live]

[Text] Comrades, guests, brothers: Today we are commemorating the 46th anniversary of the vile murder of the general of free men, Augusto Cesar Sandino. The criminal, who thought that by killing Sandino he was killing Sandino's spirit, was sadly mistaken. Sandino's spirit is alive today here in Niquinohomo; it is alive today in all Latin America. [applause]

You represent Sandino's spirit. You are Sandino's sons who today have the responsibility of fulfilling Sandino's dream of a new fatherland, of a free fatherland. [applause]

To build that new fatherland, our government has organized a literacy campaign which will start in March. You all have a place, a duty, in that campaign, because it is a Sandinist duty to free the more than 50 percent of our people who do not know how to read or write. It is also a Sandinist duty to do honest work to allow our country to overcome the economic situation that we inherited from Somoza. We have to work to build a new Nicaragua. We cannot accomplish anything nor distribute welfare if we do not produce.

I am going to be very brief. I want to stress once again, that all of Latin America and the whole world 45 or 50 years ago were watching that man who represented the Indian-American spirit, that general of free men, Augusto Cesar Sandino. Today, America, and the whole world, are watching Nicaragua. We cannot let the world down. The world sees in our revolution, a model revolution that will, through unity, and work, achieve the liberation of a small but worthy nation. [applause] In conclusion, I would like to stress that the general of free men always ended his writing with a slogan, which should be the slogan of all Nicaraguans: that slogan was fatherland and freedom. This is what you, sons of Sandino, will always have to say until the end. Long live free Nicaragua, long live General Sandino. Thank you.

CSO: 3010

RESULTS OF TAX REGULARIZATION LAW EXTOLLED

PA201923 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 13 Feb 80 pp 1, 12 PA

[Text] Finance Minister Joaquin Cuadra Chamorro has said during a news conference that the treasury has obtained 4,000 new taxpayers through the law on fiscal regularization enacted in late 1979.

In addition to permitting the collection of overdue taxes, the law has reconciled 4,000 taxpayers with the treasury and this is a real contribution.

Some 130 million cordobas were expected to be collected as a result of this law. Collections exceed 130 million cordobas, representing 90 percent of the initial estimate.

It is important to stress that those 4,000 taxpayers belong to the conscientious majority. They are persons who realize the importance of their taxes to the state.

A Single Budget

A new budget is currently being drafted for the entire state apparatus. It will cover not only the ministries and decentralized bodies but the autonomous enterprises and bodies within the peoples' property area as well.

It should be clear, though, Cuadra Chamorro said, that the expense budget of the central government and its bodies will be financed with fiscal revenues or, in other words, with state revenues.

A budget evaluation is made of the peoples' industrial corporation, the agrarian reform institute and other sectors handling activities like those of private enterprise, to determine their needs and to give them orientation in regard to their investments and activities. They will not be financed with taxes paid by the peoples.

Cuadra Chamorro stressed the importance of public spending at this political stage. It will allow state resources to be funneled toward the development of the most necessary activities within the economic reactivation plan.

Public spending will have a great impact on our economic policy, which may be extended to 1981. This will be while private enterprise recovers from its fright and the ravages of the war of liberation, Cuadra said.

Expansion of the Tax Base

The Government of National Reconstruction will not be able to carry out a sweeping fiscal reform because the country's economic base is quite deteriorated. However, the number of taxpayers who have never paid taxes but who can do so will be increased in order to have a more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

Cuadra said that "this does not involve creating new taxes, but imposing them on sectors which have never paid taxes to the treasury although they can do so."

Once the tax base is expanded the tax burden will stop falling on a few people and become more tolerable by being divided among more taxpayers.

For instance, if a pound of beans costs a given amount because of a tax, it will not have the same effect on a millionaire as it would have on a poor worker, who may even find himself obliged to pawn a substantial part of his salary to buy it.

Expansion of Real Estate Property Assessments

Under this policy of expanding the tax base, the Government of National Reconstruction has begun extending real estate property assessments [to other areas of the country], as during Somoza's administration only a small area on the Pacific was covered. Now a real estate property evaluation will reach areas which Somozism never reached. It has been verified that properties with a value of as much as 6 million cordobas are paying taxes on a value of, say, 75,000 cordobas, according to the "assessment" made by Somoza's administration.

We believe it will not be necessary to increase the tax rate with this policy, which will make it possible to double tax collections.

Equal Treatment for Enterprises of Varying Nature

It is obvious, therefore, that it will not be possible to achieve a sweeping tax reform during 1980, but in 1981, when the country's economic base will have further recovered. However, the tax treatment will be the same for all enterprises, be they mixed, state or private enterprises.

At first glance, it would seem to be a contradiction for the state to tax its own enterprises. However, the equal treatment has a twofold purpose. In the first place, it is intended to force state enterprises to improve their management and production capacity. Secondly, it seeks to create a climate of confidence among other sectors so their activities will not be curtailed under the pretext that they are faced with unfair competition from state-owned enterprises.

Equality and Capacity in Fiscal Policy

The fiscal policy for 1980 will be based on principles relating to generality, payment capacity and, above all, equality, not on a progressive (increase) in taxes.

The principle of generality is construed to mean that all persons with a capacity to do so will be paying taxes to the state, at the same time facilitating an expansion of works to achieve progress and provide social services to our people.

Equality means fair taxation, not harming the finances of poor.

CSO: 3010

ECONOMIC PLAN OBJECTIVE SEEN AS FULFILLING COMMITMENT

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 12 Dec 79 p 8

[Text] "Analysis of the Present Nicaraguan Economic Situation and the Viable Models" was the subject discussed by Companero Orlando Nunez, from the National Secretariat of Propaganda and Political Education of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front], at the Oscar Perez Cassar First National Cadres Seminar of the Workers Trade Union Confederation.

He began his speech by saying that the axis of relationship for all participants in the Revolution is between capital and labor. This relationship can be conceived not only between businessmen and workers but also involves consideration of the problems of production, consumption, underdevelopment, economic dependence and exploitation.

Consideration of the social classes and the national economic situation, together with the other above-mentioned elements, will establish the frame of reference for the present situation.

And within this frame, the working class must be the most revolutionary. As a class participating in industrial development, it runs the risk of defining its universe within a factory or industry. And being revolutionary means that it defends the interests of the working class of an entire society, of that sector which suffers and endures the struggle against capital.

Companero Nunez said that a speech on the economic situation means showing the problems and achievements of the Sandinist Revolution in the economic sector.

Achievements of the Revolution in the Exercise of Authority

"First, it is of vital importance," Companero Nunez said, "to differentiate two time frames: in the first place, the attainment of authority by the Sandinist Front and, in the second place, the capacity for exercise of that authority.

"The second point is determined by the measures taken by the government, which is showing the way for the Revolution, and the results and manifestations of the Revolutionary Process.

"Confiscation of the property of the Somozists permitted the state to emerge strong in the economic sector. The INRA [National Institute for Agrarian Reform] and FIDEICOMISO are institutions of the present state which are fulfilling the commitments of the Revolution.

"Nationalization of the banking sector, commerce and natural resources is another achievement of the Revolution. As regards the banking sector and commerce, the objective of such a decision was to put an end to commercial and financial middlemen; and the Revolution's political decision to face up to the existing forms of capitalism in the country. With respect to natural resources, this was with a view to confronting reactionary elements of the capitalist system, both national and international.

"The economic strengthening which the Sandinist state accomplished by controlling part of the country's economy is explained not only by measures respecting agricultural, livestock or extractive production but also by a large amount of state control in commerce and over prices and wages."

Companero Nunez summed up the achievements as follows: we have succeeded in having the popular classes exercise authority, and this authority is exercised with a real capability to the benefit of the popular sectors.

Problems of the Revolution

Our Revolutionary Process has encountered economic problems which are the product of the inheritance we were left by dependent capitalism and Somozism.

That inheritance is manifested in underdevelopment and economic dependence which cannot be eliminated from one day to the next by decree. And the worriest manifestation of that inheritance is unemployment and underemployment.

At present, unemployment is over 30 percent and underemployment is greater than in prior years. The latter is characterized by the fact that laborers and peasant farmers, despite being employed, do not have sufficient income to get along. Such situations are caused by the destruction of the productive apparatus during the war of liberation.

Cotton production decreased considerably, as did cattle herds.

In the industrial sector, productive capacity was reduced; there was a flight of capital; increased taxes; devaluation of the cordoba; little foreign exchange for import, the consequence of which was less production and more unemployment in Nicaragua.

"Destruction of the financial system," he said, "was caused by the looting of the Somozists and the fact that the dictatorship took a large part of the money out of the productive sectors and made it available to unproductive sectors.

"This was greatly influenced by the flight of professionals and technicians who had to leave the country on the heels of the Sandinist victory.

"The foreign debt which is over $1.5 billion is another of the economic problems we are currently facing."

Insufficient Participation

The speaker emphasized the insufficient participation of the masses in the country's production process. This insufficiency is specifically reflected in the state's plan to benefit the popular sectors.

The decrease in the real wages of the working classes now means that the minimum wage of 26.20 cordobas really represents the 10 cordobas of a few years back. Logically, real value has to decrease with the increase in prices of basic products and necessary imports.

Destruction of the productive apparatus has caused problems and a crisis; the people should be aware of the elements of this crisis and thus be able to face up to the situation that will be present in the next few months and that will be "the test of fire of the Revolution."

The fear of private enterprise to reactivate the economy was another of the problems brought out by Companero Nunez.

However, in the face of this uncertainty by private enterprise, the Revolution responds that there should be awareness of and capacity to analyze the existing crisis.

And this response is the 1980 Economic Reactivation Plan which was created for the benefit of the people. It will permit us to use our meager resources in the best possible manner, just as the popular sectors are facing up to all the difficulties of the Revolution.

Objectives of Economic Reactivation

He also set forth the objectives of the Economic Reactivation Plan:

--Defense and consolidation of the Sandinist Revolution. This means that even though the crisis produces unemployment, misery and other problems, care must be taken so that such a situation is not taken advantage of by elements which are enemies of the Revolution, which might try to use the situation to boycott the Revolutionary Process.

--Maintain the hegemony of the FSLN, as the vanguard that it was and continues to be since the insurrection. This hegemony must necessarily be nourished daily. It also means that the Sandinist Front responds revolutionarily to the problems of all the people.

--Fulfill the social commitments to our people, which is one of the primary objectives of the Revolution: fight against unemployment, defend real wages and increase the social wage. The latter is an increase in the income of the worker by means of education, health, social welfare and culture. That is, a wage which benefits all the people.

--Economic reactivation of society on the basis of these objectives is fundamentally producing the basic consumer goods for the people. Moreover, producing export goods for the acquisition of foreign exchanges and having construction materials which will permit development of housing production. This objective involves reactivation of enterprises which generate employment and produce the input materials required by the production of those enterprises.

The final point he made related to the participation of private enterprise in the country's economic reactivation.

The importance of private enterprise in the agricultural-livestock sector, particularly cotton, is due to the fact that at present it owns most of the arable land. Also, because the growing of cotton is most technical and modern, considering the present situation of the government, it is the private sector which has the means to grow this crop, a product which generates the greatest amount of employment and foreign exchange for the country and which has the greatest ripple effects.

To illustrate what the economic reactivation plan will be like, Compañero Nunez displayed a chart which reflected the percentage of the gross domestic product held by each sector of the economy, both by the state and the private sector.

For 1980	Public	Private
Agricultural-livestock sector	20%	80%
Manufacturing sector	25%	75%
Construction sector	70%	30%
Mining and fishing sector	99%	1%
Services sector	55%	45%

The results reflect 41 percent of the gross domestic product for the public sector and 59 percent for the private sector.

To make a comparison of this situation, Compañero Nunez reported that in 1977 the state of Nicaragua owned only 11 percent of production compared to the present 41 percent, an increase of 30 percent.

8143
CSO: 3010

ARTICLE SHOWS HOW TO IMPROVE WORKER EFFECTIVENESS

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 14 Dec 79 p 3

[Reprinted from the Weekly, PODER SANDINISTA, No 8]

[Text] When we speak of propaganda, we are referring to the political education work of our vanguard which is seeking to create a correct idea of the revolutionary process in the masses. On the other hand, agitation consists in putting in to practice the political education of the masses, the implementation of the theory.

In general, propaganda can be defined as the in-depth and detailed explanation of problems. Propaganda should cause a man to analyze and reflect.

For its part, agitation should mobilize the masses to action in a precise, alert and combative way, in the performance of the basic tasks which the Revolution confers upon us daily.

How We Apply These Principles to Our Work

The question is one not only of knowing these principles on the theoretical level but also of knowing how to apply them to our work of revolutionary orientation.

Our task is basically a labor of political and economic education. And this is of interest to us at the time of its practical application, as at times it happens that there are comrades who confuse these forms and our work effectiveness is lost.

When a profound and detailed problem is to be posed, it is necessary to assemble the comrades in a suitable place at a proper time so that there can be greater participation of these comrades and the problems can be posed in a clear and precise way, suggestions can be given or a solution to said problems can be sought.

Necessary Requirements to Achieve Greater Effectiveness in Our Work:

--High Ideological Level. From this derives the need for a clear and defined revolutionary position in which the political line of our vanguard is present.

As a fundamental part of our work, this high ideological level should reach the masses and can fulfill the commitments of our vanguard by means of practical actions.

Ideas only convert themselves into a material force when the masses take hold of them.

--Clarity and Simplicity. We accomplish nothing with this high ideological level if it is not accessible to the masses; and to this end, our ideas must be expressed in simple and popular language so that the masses can understand us.

--Be Well Acquainted With the Person to Whom We Are Addressing Ourselves, His State of Mind and Be Well Versed in the Subject Under Discussion. We have to know to whom we are speaking, whether they are workers, peasant farmers, students, or intellectuals, as every specific sector has different states of mind, motivations, levels of awareness and interests. Toward this end, the propagandist has to be profoundly aware of the daily problems of the mass organizations and of the tasks of the revolution.

--Know How to Select the Comrades Who Will Carry Out This Work. It is fundamental to know which of the comrades have the attitude and capabilities needed to do this work; and it is also important that they know how to win the confidence of the masses, as demonstrated by the enthusiasm and firmness of their daily work.

--Not Confuse Simplicity With Vulgarity and Coarseness. To make propaganda, we have to express ourselves with precision, deal with realities, not engage in circumlocutions or lose ourselves in useless facts. Simplicity, clarity and conviction give a speaker extraordinary force of persuasion, as persuasion is the key to all our political-ideological work. When we speak of simplicity and clarity, we are speaking about simple and popular language; however, this should not be confused with vulgar language.

--Pose Problems With Sincerity and Forthrightness. The force of our agitation and propaganda derives from the fact that they are based on the truth. That is what makes our propaganda effective. To face up to problems, the truth must be told with sincerity and forthrightness.

There is nothing that the masses detect more quickly than our efforts "to dodge the issue;" i.e., when we are not speaking to them clearly. The more profoundly the people know the truth of problems and mistakes, the more quickly and energetically will they act to solve the problems, face up to difficulties and correct mistakes.

--How To Be Efficient in Our Work. To be efficient in our work is to ensure adequate utilization and economy of the resources and forces we have, to avoid the squandering of our material and human resources and fulfill the requirements of our work. We must be specific; i.e., we must deal with problems we are facing every day, and thus help in the analysis understanding and solution of these problems.

--The Results of Ideological Work Are Not Only Measured by Economic Achievements. If we look at the efficiency of political work in terms of economic achievements, we are vulgarizing our own efforts. We must measure our achievements in the political-ideological sector in terms of the level to which we are raising the enthusiasm, combativeness and political awareness of the masses. In terms of how well prepared the latter are to handle problems and their readiness to perform the tasks of the Revolution.

--Importance and Advantages of Direct Propaganda to the Performance of Our Work. Direct propaganda is the most effective way to do our work.

Without denying the importance in our days of the mass communications media, the spoken word, direct communication, maintains its validity and effectiveness, as there are greater possibilities of convincing and persuading, because facts and specific situations can be used, reference can be made to events which occurred in the work site or collective.

The spoken word is obviously more economical.

Of highest importance is the fact that the spoken word facilitates interchanges and, therefore, clarification of anything that is misunderstood.

Finally, with direct propaganda, we can have our ideas and orientations reach the rank and file, become aware of the reactions of the masses, without doubts, and deal with subjects in depth. To establish with them a real dialog and above all learn how to go to the rank and file not only to teach, but also fundamentally to learn. Let us remember that in the process of awareness development, "the educator has to be educated."

Several Methods Adopted by Direct Propaganda

--The personal approach. This is nothing more than the duty which every revolutionary has, whether or not within the propaganda framework, to clarify any confusion, combat any ill-intentioned comment against the principles of the Revolution and disseminate the achievements of the Revolution.

--Another method is the one designed for teams and corresponding organizations. This can be person-to-person or directed at a group. To this end, it is necessary to be well prepared, know the subject in depth so that we can be in a position to answer questions posed by the participants.

Ora. propaganda directed to a group of persons can adopt the following methods:

--a brief exposition or a lightning-fast meeting;

--a conference;

--a question and answer dialog;

--a conversation, meeting or assembly. Other more complex techniques may be used; e.g., seminars, conferences, etc.

Modesty and Simplicity: Indispensable Qualities in the Propagandist and Agitator [this last paragraph boxed].

8143
CSO: 3010

PAPER ISSUES REPORT ON ATLANTIC COAST SITUATION

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 19 Dec 79 p 9

[Text] During a visit to the country's Atlantic Coast BARRICADA approached comrades from various municipal government juntas in this area to find out about the progress and needs in each township visited.

In Bluefields, regional capital of Zelaya, municipal junta members Francisco Lopez, Lloyd Forbes, Viquez Miller, Martha Medina and Ruben Lopez are establishing a coordinating commission for planning whose main goal will be to organize projects and plans for Bluefields that will unite more efficiently different segments of the population in reconstruction tasks.

One advance of the coordinated work being done by this junta is the establishment of the first people's store, whose job will be to regulate the prices of grass-roots products with the aid of ENABAS (National Enterprise for Cotton Collection and Cultivation). Similarly, once the store has started serving the coastal people, grass-roots hotels and restaurants will be built.

Concerning the people's participation in the tasks demanded by the Revolutionary Program, Companero Francisco Lopez told BARRICADA that even in view of the restrictions in this area the people are responding more strongly every day. Of course, we need to strengthen the levels of awareness, toward which goal the various grass-roots organizations such as ATC (Association of Rural Workers), CST (Sandinist Workers Headquarters) and CDS (Sandinist Defense Committee) are doing definite work to unite the Bluefields population in diverse reconstruction activities, said Lopez.

Participation by the people, which is going on now, has to be increased, explained the junta companeros.

The transportation problems in this region have raised the prices in Bluefields of food products coming from Managua and from other regions of the country. But the city government in its awareness of this situation has started establishing grass-roots stores.

The Sandinist Peoples Army, the CDS, Sandinist Youth and the Sandinist Police are working in cooperation with the municipal government junta. Also the Nicaraguan Educators Association (AMDEN) is participating in the collective effort.

During the interview the Bluefields government junta members took the opportunity to express their pressing need for a local Labor Ministry office to attend to the needs of the Atlantic working class.

CDS Participation

Thirty-eight CDS groups have joined together in Bluefields. The participation of these grass-roots organizations has had concrete results in the medicine-production campaign. The various CDS's have brought in a large quantity of flasks which will be sent to the pharmacy department of the UNAN (National Autonomous University of Nicaragua) in Leon.

The CDS's, working directly with the municipal government junta, participate by bringing in documents for the financing of loans that the junta is providing to small manufacturers to develop trade. An investigation was made by various CDS's to determine the needs of merchants requiring greater priority.

The vaccination campaigns against polio and the measles are completely supported by the CDS's through their real participation in supplying the appropriate dosages to the whole population. In the same vein children, as "the pets of the Revolution" are the object of special attention from the CDS's. Twenty cradles were donated to the Bluefields Hospital by the city's CDS. This will increase the ability to take care of the Atlantic Coast's children.

Regarding the region's delegation to the CDS National Assembly, Companero Luis Morrison, the region's CDS chief, revealed that representatives are being chosen from each zone according to selection guidelines proposed by the National Executive Board.

The literacy teacher recruitment campaign is a task of great importance being undertaken by the Bluefields CDS units. The campaign's goal is to provide boots to the Nicaraguan brothers who join the Atlantic region's literacy campaign, particularly in the areas bordering on Bluefields.

Sandinist Youth Sprouts in Bluefields

As a fundamental need within the Revolutionary Program, last 8 December the first grass-roots committee was formed in Bluefields that with others will build the 19th of July Sandinist Youth. Companero Carlos Castro, who will be chief of JS (Sandinist Youth) 19th of July in Bluefields, explained that at this time the group's most immediate task is the literacy campaign, for which instruction has started of student brigades which are under the responsibility of the FES (Secondary Students Federation).

The participation of the JS of Zelaya in building up production will be decided once this organization meets with the INRA (National Institute for Agrarian Reform) to plan definite tasks in each Atlantic region requiring the cooperation of all organized areas of that region.

National Child Week will be observed at the grass-roots level throughout the region, said Comparero Castro. Preparations are already being made for all children to have a Merry Christmas in freedom.

Corn Island Junta Works Cooperatively

The population of Corn Island, composed of 5,000 inhabitants, is gradually joining the tasks of the Revolution. Companero Gregory Jackson, Corn Island's first political-military chief, informed our reporters that the island's municipal government junta is working in cooperation with the EPS (Social Property Enterprises) to create a pork production cooperative. Another important project is the building of a bird farm, which will be carried out soon, as will work on industrializing coconut production.

The various projects that will be carried out in the middle run have the basic aim of giving work to hundreds of persons who at the present time are increasing the ranks of the unemployed in our country. The building of a bird farm on Corn Island means feed for hens will be manufactured there using fish flour and coconut bran.

Among the activities that will soon be carried out by Corn Island's JS, Companero Jackson explained, will be a park inauguration on 25 December in honor of the children as the Revolutionary Program's pioneers, which will be the major event of Child Week observances.

The other grass-roots groups already organized on Corn Island are CDS's and two unions which, to the extent that their organizational structures become united, will form part of the CST. The unions already developed are the one in Pancasan, consisting of companeros from the Will's Bowers Co, a shell-fish processor, and the Minimbo union, made up of PROMARBLUE workers.

Bonanza Will Be Established as a Township

One of the Revolution's gains in the Atlantic area will be the formation of the township of Bonanza. The fact that this mining area still does not have its township status has not prevented organizing tasks from being carried out.

The needs proposed by the people of Bonanza have made it possible to form a three-member junta responsible for specific tasks of advancing and organizing to strengthen the Revolution. Companero Javier Gurdian Somarriba, political chief of Bonanza, explained that within the already formed junta there is a coordinator, a representative of the Miskita people, and a comrade in charge of finances.

The ATC, the Sandinist Peoples Army, ANDEN, the FES and the CDS's have proposed as the first task enlarging and improving the Bonanza hospital and building a local market, said Companero Gurdian. He added that to carry out the proposed tasks a committee of 10 members was formed. Every member is sent by each of the grass-roots organizations. The participation of CONDEMINA and the ATC is producing fruitful results for the progress of this organized work.

According to Companero Gurdian, the ATC, containing 11 regional communities, has worked together with the Bonanza Health Commission to put into effect basic assistance courses in all the various communities.

Regarding the duties of the CDS's, Companero Gurdian said they are formed on every block. Bonanza is divided into two zones; each zone has a central committee made up of four members, of whom two compose the central committee of Bonanza.

The INRA also participates to a large extent with the National Development Bank as much in technical counseling as in making loans to small growers in the area.

In answer to questions about whether any problems have been encountered in organizing, Companero Gurdian pointed out there were problems at the beginning in designating duties between the CDS's and the ATC, but in view of the progress in organizing, this problem has been overcome and there is even more unity and increased inclination of the people toward the Revolution.

La Rosita Mine

During a short visit to this region, we had the chance to talk with Companero Alejandro Guevara, political-military chief of La Rosita mine. Comrade Guevara told us his function is serving as a link between the municipal government junta--recently organized--and the grass-roots organizations formed among the people.

Concerning the unified organizations, Guevara explained that the ATC, the CDS's, the FES and the Mine Workers Union with support from CONDEMINA are carrying out tasks in the fields of health, housing and agriculture. The various duties in each of these fields include making a census to find out the most immediate needs in housing, so that once the results of the census are obtained, a meeting can be held with the comrades in the Housing and Human Settlements Ministry to define the particular tasks to be performed.

The FES has played a big part in the administering of vaccination dosages against polio, the measles, diphtheria and tetanus, an effort which was fulfilled in the various communities of the area.

In all tasks undertaken in La Rosita, the Sandinist Peoples Army participates in cooperation with the municipal junta and the grass roots organizations.

9945
CSO: 3010

WOMEN REPLY TO 'LA PRENSA' ON COSMETICS IMPORTS POLICY

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 12 Dec 79 p 3

[Article by Luisa Amanda Espinoza, Association of Nicaraguan Women: "Cosmetics, a Major Need?"]

[Text] To the Nicaraguan people: Recently on the editorial page of the daily LA PRENSA there was an article dealing with the position of a group of women on the suspension of cosmetics imports.

We of the Association of Nicaraguan Women are responsible for looking after all matters related to women. In that article, criteria are published that twist a woman's role in society.

One part of the article states, "Cosmetics and what are called beauty products satisfy a woman's psychological requirements, requirements that are an innate part of the feminine nature, something rooted in a female's own instincts: the need to look attractive in the eyes of others."

These theories and others imply the image of woman as an object, as a decorative figure, superficial and frivolous. We believe that "to look attractive" does not mean wearing the latest fashions or using more expensive cosmetics; rather we look attractive to the extent that we are in good health, that we are clean, that we are well-nourished. And we know that many Nicaraguan women still do not have this right to "look attractive."

A woman's worth is not in her physical attractions but in her devotion to work, in her ability to unite with others, in her power to feel toward another's children as if they were her own, and to share in the problems of her people, in her participation in the reconstruction of our country destroyed by dictatorship.

We are not against using cosmetics; moreover, the revolutionary government has not forbidden their use. It has only stopped importing expensive foreign products, so that the cosmetics consumed will be those produced in Central America.

Yes, we reject the assertion that cosmetics are "absolutely necessary and indispensable." This is an idea taught by consumer society publicity, which even creates a mystique for particular brands to assure itself of markets and to thus achieve greater profits. And the most promoted brands are always those of imperialist companies.

We consider the following to be a woman's highest needs: her full unity and equality of position with men in production, the building of training centers for women and hospitals and schools, of child-development centers, and not having the responsibility for household chores fall solely on the shoulders of women.

We believe that when the fundamental problems of our economy have been solved, the use of cosmetics will not be a luxury. But at this time when our government is asking us for austerity when we are asked to donate the 13th month of our earnings to create a fund for 100,000 unemployed Nicaraguans, when there is a 44-percent shortage in the production of basic grains, which will have to be imported, when we find ourselves with a foregin debt of $1.6 billion, when we must wipe out the illiteracy of 60 percent of the population, yes, importing cosmetics is a luxury.

Thus we ask our women comrades who are signing the petition and all Nicaraguan women that we all realize what are our essential needs, which will be resolved only by our organized participation.

9945
CSO: 3010

GRAMMAR SCHOOL VACATION REPLACED BY FURTHER STUDY, ACTIVITY

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 16 Jan 80 pp 1, 8

[Text] Primary school children will not have long months of mandatory vacation as many parents believe. On the contrary, this time will be used by our children to learn national history. They will also be able to become familiar with animal life, our plants, our customs, the games our forefathers played that have disappeared because of outside influences.

This information was disclosed by Education Minister Carlos Tunnerman Bernheim when he was approached by a BARRICADA reporter. "This is part of a nonformal study program that we intend to put into effect starting in April when the National Literacy Crusade, 'Heroes and Martyrs for Nicaraguan Liberation,' will be at its high point. Certainly," said Compañero Tunnerman, "nonformal study has not been given the importance it deserves."

Our children will participate in Child Education Day, which will bear the name of the child martyr Luis Alfonso Velasquez Flores and start with a tribute to the National Literacy Crusade. Tunnerman points out that each week's activities have been programmed, and he is considering drawing contests, athletic competitions, trips, manual and agricultural activities, tributes to workers, commemoration ceremonies for our heroes and martyrs, visits to bombed cities, etc.

The University Will Participate in the Crusade

Dr Tunnerman said our alma mater will participate in the National Literacy Crusade, although he made clear not all departments. "Certain fields, such as medicine, agriculture, etc, cannot be halted," said the compañero.

The participation in the crusade of 100 teachers from Spain was also verified. These teachers will come to our country with their expenses paid by the Spanish people through their government. Tentatively Costa Rican teachers are also expected to be present.

Tunnerman also mentioned the help we have received from brother countries, and he acknowledged the donation of 40,000 desks made by the OAS and of 10,000 more desks that will be brought to the Atlantic Coast as a demonstration of solidarity from the people and government of Venezuela.

Pension Readjustment

Another matter disclosed by Minister Tunnerman was the readjustment of teachers' pensions, which will be paid in January with retroactivity extended to November. Tunnerman made it clear pensions will not be given to retired persons who are working.

He also verified the naming of Companera Milena Nunez Tellez as head of Educational Region No Four, which includes Leon and Chinandega. The Companera is vice president of ANDEN (Nicaraguan Educators Association) for western Nicaragua.

9945
CSO: 3010

'OPPORTUNISM' CLARIFIED FOR 'BARRICADA' READER

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 19 Dec 79 p 3

[Text] With a view to offering our readers better instruments of political analysis which will promote clarifying discussion in work centers, mass organizations, unions, schools, etc, BARRICADA is beginning a new section for the purpose of answering as precisely as possible questions sent to us and to offer clarifications on current subjects of interest for our Revolution.

Companeros of BARRICADA, in the office where I work, the word "opportunism" is used a great deal in reference to the middle class and certain leftist organizations. I should like to know what opportunists are. (Margarita Castro de Gonzalez)

Opportunism is characterized principally by an unprincipled attitude, motivated by self interests.

There are two kinds of opportunism most often identified: opportunism of the right and opportunism of the left. Opportunism of the right is represented by the middle class and at times the lower middle class. It has its clearest expression in efforts to mask their class interests; i.e., maintenance of the conditions of exploitation and the ideological values which go with them, through defense of "democracy," using pseudorevolutionary terminology, with reformist mechanisms. For example, they speak of "equality of opportunity," of "freedoms," in the capitalist society, of the legitimacy of the middle class order. For the middle class, they are the people, at any event the lower middle class; however, they make it seem that they are the principal defenders of society as a whole.

The opportunism of the lower middle class is reflected in the constant vacillations of that important sector of the population made up of professionals, bureaucrats, small businessmen and small landowners. They attempt to elude revolutionary changes; they fear the possibility of breaking with a life-style of comfort and routine, of seeing the possibility of having more and more getting away from them, of not becoming middle class persons. However, if revolutionary awareness reaches them, specific sectors, the poorest sectors

of the lower middle class, will march with the exploited sectors, will support demands which favor all the people and will lose their fears and vacillations little by little. The top of the lower middle class sector, on the other hand, will continue to vacillate, will speak "for" one day and "against" the next as regards revolutionary changes and, finally, will submit to the middle class.

Opportunism of the left is the clearest manifestation of dogmatism which consists in reasoning with formulas against the Revolution without analyzing the country's real situation which they want to change. Then they take advantage of the political ground won by other organizations to attack any revolutionary position or measure which does not fit their formula theory.

Incapable of distinguishing questions of principle from tactical questions, they attempt to defend principles by means of virulent attacks upon mistakes or errors which merit criticism and by means of concrete proposals for their correction.

Opportunists of the left style themselves as the true revolutionaries; however, they are not interested in the Revolution as a dialectic process but rather as the following of the mechanical rote which a subjective view of the revolutionary theory has made appear correct to them. Opportunism thus posited is measured by the wise utilization of the opportunities with the lowest cost risk for the defense of group positions. And this makes them forget the real role of that group in the class struggle, which, although insignificant, causes them to prefer their isolated existence and withhold unitary support from the vanguard organization.

8143
CSO: 3010

LITERACY CRUSADE COORDINATOR EXPLAINS ISSUES

PA202231 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 20 Feb 80 PA

[Communique released by the national literacy crusade coordinator]

[Excerpts] We have found confused or mistaken ideas in various circles about certain organizational aspects of the literacy crusade. In order to dispel all doubts, for the past month Education Minister Dr Carlos Tunnerman and I have been answering questions from both newsmen and parents on the Sandinist television system every Wednesday afternoon.

Moreover, we have been publishing a question-and-answer column in BARRICADA and LA PRENSA on Tuesdays and Fridays so everybody can be well informed. There is no need to believe street rumors, which often are ill-intentioned.

Aside from the information we have been providing and will continue to provide, I think it would be advisable to clear up certain essential points:

1. We have not yet indicated the places where the students of each institute or school will be teaching. No one has been assigned a work site yet.

2. We are still in the general phase of organizing the mobilization needed in each department and municipality. We are still handling only numbers, not names of institutes or schools.

3. The site where each person will participate in the literacy crusade will be announced as soon as possible. We are working as fast as necessary.

4. Students of an institute or school will not be sent en masse to a single region. Squad distribution will be made by age. For instance, the youngest squads of a given institute or school will be sent nearby, while the older squads will go to more distant places.

5. Several departments have enough crusaders. Extra crusaders will be sent to work in other departments where there is a shortage.

The only way in which students can participate in the crusade is by joining the peoples literacy army. Youths cannot participate in the crusade while staying in the cities. This task will be carried out by popular crusaders, which include workers, professionals, housewives and so forth.

Managua, free Nicaragua 18 February 1980, year of literacy

[Signed] Fernando Cardenal, Jesuit Priest, National Coordinator of the National Literacy Crusade.

CSO: 3010

BRIEFS

OPPOSITION ATTACKING THREE FRONTS--The counterrevolution has chosen three ways to try to stop our revolutionary process: a boycott on production, the creation of armed bands and narcotics trafficking. These were pointed out by Comdr Humberto Ortega as the most active fronts of the counterrevolution in our country. These three facets of the counterrevolution in Nicaragua have been shown in the harassment of several fishing boats in the Atlantic and the introduction of armed bands in the north. Some of them have already been eliminated and others have been broken up. Commander Ortega called on all mass organizations to remain alert in the accomplishment of revolutionary tasks and not to allow themselves to be influenced by the enemies of the revolution. [Text] [PA211713 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0330 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA]

ROBELO DISCUSSES GRAIN IMPORTS--The government will have enough basic grains for the next 6 months as a result of imports. It has planned to meet the needs of our people for food by importing basic grain. Junta member Alfonso Robelo told this newscast that the government is importing rice from Guatemala, Venezuela and the United States in order to keep at least a 6-month's supply. He also announced that with bean imports from Costa Rica, the United States and Guatemala, the government will be guaranteeing a 45-day supply of this product. The bean production in the Nueva Guinea region will begin next week. This will allow us to keep a reserve of beans which the people need so much. The government will establish a corn supply plan based on the reserves which are estimated to last at least 2 months. The government expects the corn harvest to be out after that period. [Text] [PA211521 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 1200 GMT 15 Feb 80 PA]

JOINING MILITIA URGED--During a rally held this morning at the Plaza De La Revolucion, hundreds of Finance Ministry workers led by Minister Joaquin Cuadra commemorated the anniversary of the assassination of the general of free men, Augusto Cesar Sandino. The workers promised to conduct voluntary work days and to participate in a most revolutionary manner in the tasks to which they are assigned in our revolution. In his speech, the deputy minister of finance, William Hupper Arguello, emphatically pointed out that the state workers must carry out a large number of tasks assigned by the National Reconstruction Government Junta and that to carry out these tasks, they must become organized in a manner to benefit our people. He also referred to the Sandinist people's militias and urged the workers to join the militias to fulfill their patriotic duty toward our General Augusto Cesar Sandino who shed his blood for our

people. We must improve work in this ministry. We must take good care of state property and raise the ideological and political consciousness of all the workers, said Mr Hupper Arguello. Several workers then spoke on behalf of their workers, and then they all went back to work. [Text] [PA212128 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1828 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA]

BULGARIAN MEDICINES PURCHASED--On 15 February the Nicaraguan health minister signed an agreement for over $100,000 with the representative of the Bulgarian Government, (Josef Talov), to purchase medicine from Bulgaria. According to the agreement, the medicine will be sent on 31 March 1980. Among the medicine that has been purchased, there are drugs to cure persons affected by parasites, rheumatism, coughs, malaria and tuberculosis, as well as analgesics, antispasmodics and antibiotics. In order to make this purchase, Nicaragua specified the following conditions: the medicine must have an expiration date of no less than 2 years from the date it is received in Nicaragua; each bottle must have a label clearly stating the manufacture and expiration date as well as the formula and serial number, all in Spanish. The health minister has the right to reject any medicine not meeting these requirements. Payment will be met in the form of a letter of credit, 150 days after notice of shipment is received. This is the first formal agreement concluded by the Health Ministry with a European socialist country. [Text] [PA212048 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1828 GMT 21 Feb 80 PA]

SOLIDARITY GROUP IN U.S.--To oppose slanted reports about our Revolution, humanists living in the United States a few months ago established an organization called Nicaragua House. The comrades, who identify with our cause, besides publishing magazines expressing solidarity with the Revolution such as NICARAGUA EN LUCHA (NICARAGUA IN BATTLE) and EL TECOLOTE (THE OWL) are developing fund-raising campaigns to help our people. Nicaragua House, headquartered in San Francisco, California, consists of all the solidarity committees in the Bay Area. "In the league alone there are 21 unions that organize political activities highlighting the truth about the Nicaraguan Revolution." Similarly the brothers of Nicaragua House have radio programs sent out on 60 transmitters. [Text] [Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 2 Jan 80 p 6] 9945

FSLN DELEGATE TO UNIVERSITIES--"Of the 22,653 students now studying in the UNAN [National Autonomous University of Nicaragua] only 206 are taking agricultural-livestock courses; and this is not in line with the economic reality of our country which bases its entire economy on agriculture and the raising of livestock." This statement was made by Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce, during a press conference held in the home of Juan de Dios Munoz. The press conference was called to inform the people that the FSLN had decided to appoint Guerrilla Commander Omar Cabezas Lacayo as the delegate of the National Directorate with responsibility for directing the political-educational activities of all the structures and organizations of the FSLN among students. [Text] [Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 19 Dec 79 p 5] 8143

CSO: 3010

BRIEFS

ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS DEPORTED--Caracas, 11 Feb (AFP)--During the past 3 days Venezuelan immigration police have deported 1,249 undocumented foreigners who were taken to Cucuta, Colombia. Police carried out a gigantic dragnet operation in San Cristobal, an area bordering Colombia and found Colombians with forged visas and various irregularities in the documents required to cross the border. Police did not reveal the nationality of the deported foreigners, but it is presumed here that most of them are Colombians, Ecuadoreans and Peruvians. The dragnet along the Colombian border captured 1,861 foreigners. Meanwhile, a high-ranking immigration official said there are 3 million undocumented foreigners in Venezuela, 1 million above unofficial estimates. EL NACIONAL reported that Guaicaipuro district is invaded by undocumented Ecuadoreans, most of whom paid a travel agency $400 for a tourist visa. The campaign against undocumented foreigners continues in the main Venezuelan cities. According to a police official, only undocumented foreigners with Venezuelan children will not be deported. [Text] [PA140414 Paris AFP in Spanish 1715 GMT 11 Feb 80 PA]

CSO: 3010

END

END OF FICHE DATE FILMED

March 12, 1980

Debbie